

TENSE AND ASPECT  
IN THE ENGLISH OF GERMAN-SPEAKING LEARNERS

BY

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Dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D.  
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December 1974



### Acknowledgements

This research was made possible because of scholarships sponsored by the 'Volkswagen Foundation' and the 'German Academic Exchange Service' (D A A D).

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor S. P. Corder, for his many suggestions and critical comments which have helped to shape the present work. As far back as 1971/72 Elizabeth Ingram helped me to sort out certain ideas about psycholinguistic studies of foreign language learning. If I ever got anywhere towards some kind of understanding of what aspect is about, then this is largely due to the discussions which I had with Marilyn Jessen. In August 1974 I had access to a draft version (so I take it) of her review of the literature, which again cleared certain points (referred to in this study as Jessen 1974).

My thanks are also due to my native informants, especially Robert Cook, Tony French, Rhodri Jones, Lachlan Mackenzie, Dave Roberts, Brian Taylor and Carolyne Tutton.

Thanks go to the students in Berlin who ploughed through the tests.

Needless to say, the weaknesses and unjustified assertions remaining in the study are exclusively attributable to its author.



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## Summary

The study aims at a description of the 'interlanguage' of 'German learners of English' (West-Berlin grammar school students, class 10, age 16+) with special regard to the use of the Expanded Form (be + ing). Thus it investigates certain features of 'tense' and 'aspect' in English, and to a lesser extent in German too. - The EF is considered the surface realization of 'progressive aktionsart' (= basic function); ie, the predication of the 'existential location' of a 'situation'. The latter are extralinguistic states of affairs which may or may not be temporally structured: events/processes vs. states. The logico-linguistic correlates of situations are propositions. By using the EF, which presupposes a variable property of a given subject, the situation denoted by the basic proposition is understood as being either overtly observable as proceeding or thought of in the 'mind' of the speaker as being in progress (events/processes) or obtaining (variable states) at or around a specific point of reference or within a limited period of time. The function of the EF is logically significant primarily with 'bounded events'. The latter are understood as 'occupying' a temporally bounded stretch on the time axis for their realization, in that they either imply the attainment of a 'goal' or are conceptualized as 'momentary'. The use of the EF renders bounded events 'unbounded'. With some situation types the use of the EF is obligatory in certain identifiable contexts, with others the SF has to be used. Other contexts permit either form (optional use). The EF is the marked, the SF the unmarked term of the formal opposition. It is at the level of sentence that the various verbal and nominal categories, in conjunction with the presence or absence of the EF, durational adverbials, negation and probably modals, constitute the category of 'aspect': perfective - imperfective. 'Aspect' is considered as much a semantic as a syntactic phenomenon. In languages like English and German it is of a 'compositional nature': the two aspects are 'configurations' at the sentence level depending on the

semantic properties of lower level categories. The binary aspect opposition (in which non-variable states do not take part) is semantically a distinction between 'bounded' and 'unbounded' events/processes. Grammar and lexicon closely interact. It can be shown that all the other 'functions' which have previously been suggested for the EF are 'secondary', in that they derive from the interaction of certain identifiable linguistic elements (up to the level of complex sentence: related events) and/or the interpenetration of linguistic and pragmatic factors), ie, are then due to the interpretation of contextually bound utterances.

The results of the error/performance analysis as regards the 'most sensitive' learning points in the students' written compositions are confirmed by 'elicitation procedures' (free-choice selection, evaluation and preference of translation equivalence, interpretation of target language sentences): (i) the overgeneralization of the use of the EF in the case of 'actual present' to 'generic', 'unrestricted state' and 'habitual' utterances, (ii) the 'unawareness' of the semantic implications which the choice of the EF has with goal-directed predicates, (iii) the encoding of related events, particularly the incidence situation. The elicitation procedures reveal the existence of further learning problems. Most of these could not have been predicted by a contrastive analysis, because they cannot be traced back to mother tongue interference: overgeneralization, over-compensation. Neither could they have been identified by an error analysis - because of zero occurrence in the corpus (eg, expanded perfect tense forms). Contrastive and error analysis are necessary but non-sufficient conditions for describing 'interlanguage'. Furthermore, the learners' conceptualization of what the 'functions'/'meanings' of certain forms/sentences are can be purely 'idiosyncratic'. In certain cases the learners operate with a concurrent system of appropriate and inappropriate interpretations of target language sentences, just as

they operate with both ill-formed and well-formed structures at the same time. They sometimes 'see' ambiguities, which the native speaker is unable to 'detect'. The tense and aspect usage of this particular group of learners cannot be regarded 'satisfactory'. The findings suggest the necessity for the presentation of 'new' learning points, or the presentation of tense and aspect matters in a 'new' framework to these fairly advanced learners. A sketch of a semantically based pedagogic grammar for the area under investigation is developed.

## Abbreviations

The abbreviations and symbols employed in this study are introduced at the appropriate points in the text, but they are listed together here for convenience:

IL: interlanguage	V <sub>act</sub> : activity predicate
L <sub>1</sub> : mother tongue	V <sub>acc</sub> : accomplishment predicate
L <sub>2</sub> : foreign language	V <sub>bc</sub> : bordercrossing predicate
SL: source language	V <sub>st</sub> : state predicate
TL: target language	< : 'before'
FE: free essay	t : point of time
GE: guided essay	⊃ : implies
R : retold	⊄ : does not imply
CC: composition corpus	~ : negates
G : German	d.n.a.: does not apply
E : English	* : unacceptable utterance
SF: Simple Form	+ : acceptable utterance
EF: Expanded Form	(*) : unacceptable under certain conditions
CA: contrastive analysis	* (s) : not acceptable in the single event reading
EA: error analysis	= : equivalent to
PA: performance analysis	≠ : not equivalent to
EP: elicitation procedure	% : dialect variation between native speakers
NS: narrative speech	? : utterance of doubtful acceptability
DS: discursive speech	⇒ : rewrite as
NP: noun phrase	∅ : deletion
PP: prepositional phrase	FCS : free-choice selection test
PR: point of reference	E & P : evaluation and preference test
PR <sub>1</sub> : primary point of reference	CI : controlled interpretation test
PR <sub>2</sub> : secondary point of reference	

## 1. Aim of the study

The present study aims at a description of the 'interlanguage' (IL) of 'German learners of English' with special regard to the use of the 'Expanded Form' (EF), a description which is pedagogically oriented and exploitable. A few qualifications are necessary:

1.1 The study is directed towards the description of German grammar school children of class 10; the actual subjects for the final 'tests', however, are taken from six classes of two grammar schools in West-Berlin.

1.2 The study does not claim to be a definitive description of the 'true' IL of the whole group of learners as specified in 1.1. The author takes the pragmatic but methodologically justifiable point of view that a reasonably sized sample of students (here: 130+) who have a similar intellectual and educational background (presupposing also equal opportunities of learning) will share and exhibit certain specific common characteristics. The subjects involved are, after all, all members of the set 'West-Berlin, grammar school (ie, the top 15 or 20 per cent of the total age group), class 10, age: 16+', etc.

1.3 By 'Expanded Form' (cf. Jespersen 1924:277), which seems a more neutral term than 'Continuous' or 'Progressive Form', I understand the verbal structure also described informally as 'be + ing'. I do not want to make any other pronouncement on the character' or 'origin' of this form (cf. Nehls 1974 as the most recent diachronic study). This study is confined to the use of the EF in present-day English. It is, however, necessary to distinguish the EF from 'adjectival' and 'gerundial'



constructions which are superficially very much alike: Claudia is charming/One of my baby teeth is missing, or: Jose's great love is playing football. The EF stands in formal opposition to the 'Simple Form' (SF).

1.4 The EF is one of those forms that has withstood, for some reason or other, a comprehensive syntactic and semantic characterization. It is certainly one of the elements within the English language whose syntax and semantics have remained rather elusive concepts for most learners of English as a foreign language. This is particularly true for students whose mother tongue ( $L_1$ ) is German (G) since there is no direct structural counterpart for the EF in their own language.<sup>1</sup> We can expect the EF to be one of the most resistant language points as regards approximation to native speaker's competence, even with very advanced learners of English (E).

1.5 Scholarly traditional grammars usually assign a variety of 'meanings' to certain expanded verb forms extracted from actual stretches of discourse. It is the author's contention that the various different 'meanings' attributed to the EF in the past (see § 4.1) can be 'traced back' to the mutual interaction of the denotation of different predicate types and various identifiable 'contextual' elements (especially NPs, adverbials, negation, quantification, modals, etc.), together with the 'function' of the EF itself for which a 'unified meaning' of 'Grundfunktion' is attempted to be established.

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1. cf. Lado's well-known hypothesis: "...when one significant unit or element in the native language equates bilingually with two significant units in the foreign language we have maximum learning difficulty" (Lado 1957:15)

The appropriate use of the EF is not a matter of the 'verb' or even the 'predicate' (used here with regard to surface structure, ie, 'verb (+ complement)'), it is a matter of the whole sentence and frequently even the presupposition (understood here as 'pragmatic', not logical presupposition: cf. Keenan 1971:49) which the speaker has in an actual speech act towards a certain state of affairs.<sup>1</sup> Revealing and unrevealing some of the complexities involved here is the main aim of the descriptive part of this study. Thus it will be an investigation of certain selected aspects of 'tense' and 'aspect' in E, and to a lesser extent in G too.

1.6 It is hoped that both the findings and the mode of analysis can be exploited by teachers and writers of textbooks and pedagogic grammars. Some suggestions for a pedagogic grammar of the area under investigation are made in the final section of this study.

## 2. A methodology for describing 'interlanguage'

### 2.1 Justification of learner-oriented studies of foreign-language learning

The need for describing the foreign language learner's language has recently been expressed by a number of authors, notably by Corder (1967:166, 1971:58, 1973), Selinker (1969:71, 1972:209 ff), Nemser & Slama-Cazacu (1970:118 ff), Richards (1971:12). Here is Corder's main argument:

"Improvements in the methods and materials of second language teaching are likely to remain a matter of trial

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1. If this can be shown to be true it will make us appreciate even more how difficult the appropriate use of the EF must be for a learner.

and error until we have a better understanding than we have at present of the processes of learning a second language" (Corder 1971:58).

We may add the following points which feature prominently in present-day discussions of foreign language ( $L_2$ ) pedagogy and curriculum development but which are still far from having found satisfactory answers:

2.1.1 Up to now  $L_2$  pedagogy has not developed adequate criteria for making clear and justifiable decisions about which specific 'elements' have or ought to be part of a course or syllabus.

Systematic studies of  $L_2$  learning can help to fill this empirical gap.

2.1.2 We do not know very much about the strategies employed by  $L_2$  learners. The psycholinguistic aspects of  $L_2$  learning have not been sufficiently studied. This applies both to the observation of individual learners and the study of groups of learners.

2.1.3 The focus of such research has to be on the learner.

This is of utmost importance, particularly since  $L_2$  teaching has a serious selective function in all types of schools, at least within the West-German educational system. There is something specific about the structure of  $L_2$  instruction (Sauer 1971: 'Sequentialität') which seems to be absent from other school subjects, such that "periods of poor learning achievements cannot easily be compensated because the structure of the subject offers only rarely the chance for a new beginning, for new learning efforts uncompromised by old failures" (translated from Sauer 1971:137)

2.1.4 Frequently the teacher does not know the actual learning problems (qualitatively and quantitatively), or he disregards them under certain situational pressures. 'Synchronic', ie, cross-sectional, investigations of groups of learners can be of help here.

2.1.5 The isolation of specific learning problems can assist in the setting up of more precisely formulated objectives in  $L_2$  learning. Making explicit mention of various grammatical, lexical and phonological elements of the target language, particularly of the most 'sensitive points', will put the curriculum research and development in  $L_2$  teaching on a basis more soundly secured by empirical statements. This is eventually to be done for successive stage of  $L_2$  learning (longitudinal studies). This will aid pedagogues in selecting and ranking appropriate teaching objectives for different levels of  $L_2$  proficiency (age and types of learners).

2.1.6 Another hypothesis of crucial importance for the whole question of the success of  $L_2$  teaching in West-German schools that has not found an answer yet is the one whether "there are certain points in the run of our 'ordinary'  $L_2$  courses at which the rate of learning of an individual or a whole group becomes zero and from which onwards the level of  $L_2$  proficiency cannot be increased any more" (see Sauer 1971:140). This again points to the need for longitudinal studies; especially in a school system where the learning of English frequently stretches over a period of up to nine years for many grammar school students.

2.1.7 The linguistic indicators of German learners' so-called 'school-English' have not been clearly revealed yet. One of its more salient features is obviously the 'fronting' of

grammatical objects (cf. Zydatiss 1972). We may expect that the structural elements involved are dependent on the age and the type of learner we are dealing with. We can, however, assume for our research that the 'grammar' of the 'IL' of a 'homogeneous' group of learners is essentially 'systematic' and 'communicately productive' at each stage of the learning process, ie, it is structured in a way which permits certain qualitative and quantitative generalizations.

2.1.8 The precise linguistic characterization of a learning problem has a bearing on the appropriate presentation of the language materials and the development and sequencing of subsequent 'explanations' and exercises. It may have an effect on the time devoted to certain language points and the general order in which they are introduced in the materials.

2.1.9 It is equally important to know what is part of the learners' 'grammar' and what is not part of their 'grammar'. This is of particular relevance to the incorporation of the results of psycho-linguistically oriented learner studies into objective means of assessment. In order to obtain a 'genuine' picture of the teaching/learning process both the things that have been achieved and those that have not been achieved have to be verified.

2.1.10 If we know (one day) what the successive stages of  $L_2$  development of certain groups of learners are in linguistic terms we can use this empirically established 'norm' and the degrees of variation and distortion associated with it as an internal criterion of proficiency and assessment (cf. Nickel 1973:162).

## 2.2 Justifying a 'compound' and 'cyclical' approach

2.2.1 The notion of 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972) has been given wide recognition in recent years: cf. the comparable concepts of 'transitional competence' (Corder 1967), 'approximative systems' (Nemser 1971), and 'interlingua' (James 1969). In accordance with the more general aims stated above an applied research project, ie, one that is essentially geared towards the pragmatic goals of improving L<sub>2</sub> teaching/learning, will have to scan the assumptions, methods and results of linguistic and psychological theory formation in order to find out in what ways they characterize the given 'language material', ie, source and target language (SL and TL), and the processes of L<sub>2</sub> acquisition. This will lead, in the more restricted field of research to which this study is confined, to hypotheses about 'potential' and 'real' learning problems as well as insights and suggestions for their possible circumvention and/or remedy. So far three different approaches have been used in 'applied linguistics' in this respect:

- i) contrastive analysis (CA),
- ii) error analysis (EA),<sup>1</sup>
- iii) objective tests (achievement, proficiency).

These procedures have often been employed in the past in isolation from or even in competition with each other. Contrary to this 'conventional' approach, which is considered unjustifiable, the following hypothesis is advanced here: a sophisticated EA is a necessary but non-sufficient condition for the isolation of

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1. The concepts of CA and EA are taken, for the time being, as 'well-understood'. However, in accordance with the principle advanced in 2.1.3 'conventional EA' is considered a somewhat 'misguided' procedure. It has to be replaced by what we may call with Svartvik (1973:8) 'performance analysis' (PA), ie, an account of both the deviations and the non-errors.

learning problems and the description of learners' IL. EA has to be supplemented by what Corder (1973) calls 'intuitional data'. They can derive from the analyst's intuitions about the respective SL and TL, particularly if he 'knows' the specific points of difficulty of learners with a certain  $L_1$  background. They can also evolve from the analyst's findings of the CA - which is often to be revised in the light of the EA and thus itself becomes a heuristic process. They can finally derive from 'open-ended' elicitation techniques like written and/or oral composition, recorded dialogues, interpretation, translation, transformation exercises, etc. They provide the analyst with a wide spectrum of 'alternatives' which he can bring into more 'controlled' types of procedures like multiple-choice, close and forced/free selection 'tests'. The analyst may also consider in-depth studies of individuals involving 'interview' techniques, etc. Although we may not necessarily want to claim for 'elicitation procedures' (EP) to be 'scientific' in the strict sense (which applies to 'discovery procedures' in the sense of 'field methods' in general), their results clearly are 'scientific' in that they verify or falsify a hypothesis. The analyst's intuitions are complemented by data gained from the observation of the learners'  $L_2$  performance. Various 'discovery procedures', both deductive and inductive ones, converge - supplementing and changing each other. The whole process of 'designing' EPs is a cyclical one. It may be noted that EPs are not 'tests' in the strict sense, they are primarily not 'tests for measuring'. If specific groups of learners are studied a certain amount of statistical treatment does, however, provide very useful quantitative information.



Here are a few arguments in favour of the 'compound' approach to the description of IL, as opposed to a 'compartmentalized' methodology in which EA, CA and 'testing' are seen as standing in opposition to each other:

#### 2.2.2 CAs scan the area under investigation in its totality.

It is nowadays a methodological sine qua non to compare 'whole' systems and subsystems. The 'odd observation' has no linguistic or pedagogic value. The scope of CAs goes beyond that of a corpus-based EA, especially if the EA is based on the 'official' tests set by the teacher or the examination board. CAs can be used for explaining certain types of errors (interference problems). They can thereby be exploited for a psycholinguistically based error therapy. Accepting the usefulness of CA is not to defend the 'strong claim' of the CA-hypothesis (cf. Wardhaugh 1970). CA has probably, de facto, never been 'predictive' but only 'explanatory'.

#### 2.2.3 EAs per se can never reach more than observational adequacy (Chomsky 1965:25) since they are usually based on corpus data which suffer from certain external restrictions (cf. Corder 1973): a rather limited range of topics or 'type of discourse' (mainly 'narrative' as opposed to 'discursive speech': cf. Weinrich 1970, 1971 for these terms), the time factor, and the function of these compositions within the school system ('Klassenarbeiten'). There are also internal restraints operating here: dictations, 'retolds' (R), and 'guided essays' (GE) scarcely mirror genuine communication. The students have to 'play safe' since they are marked on their performance. These compositions do not constitute spontaneous speech.



2.2.4 If the analyst aims at a description of learners' IL system, CA has to precede heuristic procedures such as EA/PA or EPs. We can assume that there is more to the non-native use of the  $L_2$  than simply the replacement of elements of the  $L_2$  by elements of the  $L_1$ : Levenston's (1971) notions of 'over-indulgence' and 'under-representation' are relevant here. The difficulty with these concepts is, however, that they are essentially statistical notions and that we do not know too much about the frequency of occurrence of specific forms in specified speech situations. We also want to establish an IL system which does not account only for those cases actually found in the corpus of the students' ordinary classroom work, even if we 'list' both well-formed and ill-formed utterances. If it does indeed turn out that certain forms are 'never' used in learners' 'ordinary' written work this would underline very strongly the necessity for carrying out an extensive descriptive/contrastive study well before the actual data-collecting procedures. It would also support the need for systematically collected additional samples of other types of 'production', apart from classroom exercises. - The PA of this study reveals, in fact (cf. §3.2), that the expanded perfect form is used not once in a written composition corpus (CC) of about 58.000 words containing almost 7.000 finite verb forms. Although we have again the statistical problem that we would have to show that the native speaker would have employed this form in a similar set of essays, we surely do not want to deduce from this finding that this particular form is not a learning problem for G learners of E. The error analyst must not fall into the statistical trap

of assuming that there is a correspondence between the low frequency of an error or form and the actual 'difficulty' or 'availability' of this language point to the learners. The only thing the 'conventional' error analyst can say is that the learners do not use this form spontaneously in the type of discourse they were producing. This is to challenge an opinion that has become almost a commonplace in the literature ever since CA has been under serious criticism, namely that CA "can only point toward a potential learning problem or difficulty" while EA "can tell the intensity or difficulty, or the size of the problem" (Filipovic 1974:97). In order to discover the 'true' picture of the language available to learners they must be forced to produce, select or comment upon the items in question. This is the main justification for EPs. EA on its own can never show that a learner does not 'possess' a certain form. This can only be proved by EPs. The student thinks he is pronouncing judgements on the 'grammaticality' of the TL or the translation equivalence of certain forms in the SL or TL. In reality he is revealing his system, the 'grammar' of his IL.

2.2.5 Learning problems do not only result from elements of 'strong' contrastivity but also from 'structures' of 'weak' contrastivity. The 'strong version' of the CA-hypothesis (cf. Wardhaugh 1970) is subject to empirical constraints: CAs cannot predict all learning problems (see above 2.2.2). The hierarchy of interlingual differences, in whatever way it may have been established, is not necessarily identical with the hierarchy of actually observed difficulties.

2.2.6 EAs uncover intralingual learning problems, ie, difficulties arising from the previous confrontation and operation with  $L_2$  material ('overgeneralization'). We can expect that this source of error is much more frequent in the case where a certain form of the TL (as, for example, the EF) has no direct structural counterpart in the SL. We can also hypothesize that at the level of  $L_2$  proficiency we are dealing with in this study (cf. §1.2) the overgeneralization is not one of the 'gross' type as exemplified by the 'regularization' processes involved in errors such as he goed, womans, etc, but rather a 'subtle' concurrency and inconsistency in the respective use of SF and EF.

2.2.7 Apart from errors having  $L_1$  - transfer or overgeneralization as their source some students produce purely 'idiosyncratic' errors, deviations which cannot be explained either by regress to the  $L_1$  or to the  $L_2$  (cf. Wolfe 1967:181). These errors are of particular interest to both the theoretical linguist and the psycholinguist because they can be a support

- i) "for the assumption of a semantic prelexematic or any other preformative base structure with generative capacity", and
- ii) "against the assumption we were learning languages only by repetition of ready-made conventionalized (lexicalized) pattern elements" (translated from Rossipal 1973:62).

2.2.8 The  $L_2$  learner seems to be characterized by 'concocting' the rule systems of three different sources: his  $L_1$ , the  $L_2$  (and maybe other languages learned by him) and rules which are neither those of the  $L_1$  nor the  $L_2$ . Thus the 'construct' of

IL can be represented as follows in the case of G learners of E:

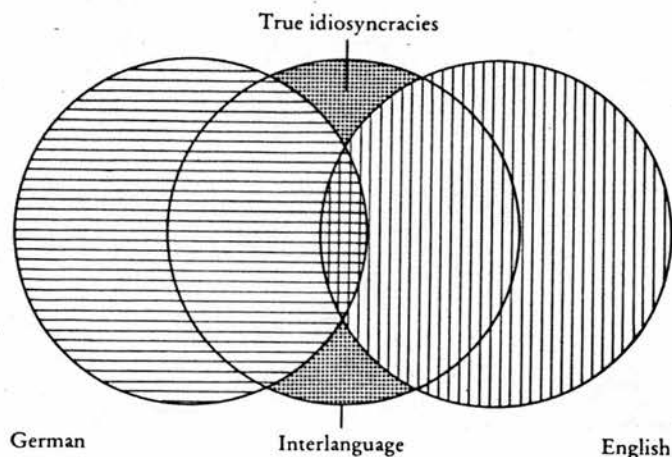


Fig. 1: Interlanguage

This notion is neutral and broad enough to refer also to  $L_2$  pedagogy. It is a very useful concept in an applied science where the purely pragmatic goals cannot be severed from the more theoretical foundations and objectives. Since there are different types of schools and learners, ie, no overall homogeneous community of  $L_2$  learners, the aims of the respective  $L_2$  courses and therefore the levels of desired and observed IL will vary considerably. IL, it is hoped, is essentially a dynamic concept. One of the main aims of such descriptions is the detection of 'fossilized' cases (cf. Selinker 1972: 215f), deviations which are permanent and inhibit further progress. We can assume that for the particular group of learners under investigation the use of the EF 'has a good chance' of being an instance of fossilization, especially in the absence of any satisfactory pedagogic grammar for the problem at hand. Both teachers and students should not be 'content' with ' $L_2$ -habits' which represent a 'learning plateau'

or 'final' markers of  $L_2$  competence (for a similar conclusion, see Richards 1971). This ties up with what was said above in § 2.1.6.

2.2.9 There is no contradiction in propagating the need for CA in a case like the use of the EF where the bulk of the learning difficulty derives from the complexities of the system and subsystems of the TL itself. One of the main values of a CA in this situation is seen as providing 'facts' and statements which are exploitable for a pedagogic grammar. A contrastive element in a pedagogic grammar for the EF is of great utility, especially for the fairly advanced learners we are dealing with here. However, it is of no great use to these learners if the contrastive statements are solely of a structural nature, be it in terms of different superficial structure or identical deep structure, be it in terms of different transformational history or different domains of major and minor rules, etc. A contrastively oriented pedagogic grammar ought to be primarily notional. The interlingual confrontations should be made on a semantic-functional basis. What we desperately need in  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  pedagogy is a 'meta-language of pedagogic utility'.<sup>1</sup> The specific kind of approach necessary here has been aptly expressed by Marton (1974:188):

"But he (the learner) does have to know what conceptual organization will be involved in the encoding of the given content plan into the signs of the TL, and,

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1. It seems to me that both  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  pedagogy are conceptually underdeveloped as compared with, eg, the teaching of science or 'new' maths (even in primary schools), where a great variety of theoretical concepts have been converted into teachable formats in a resourceful and imaginative way.

accordingly, he has to learn how this organization differs from the corresponding one in his NL and by what lexical and syntactic forms it is realized."

In other words: the statements made in a CA about the forms of the SL (eg, the various periphrastic means in G for rendering the EF in more or less defined contexts) can be utilized in a pedagogic grammar as semantic 'footholds', thus helping to make conscious the conceptual structure of the learner's intentions (Marton: "the content plan he has in mind"). The mediating role of the  $L_1$ , which seems to be operating frequently even when it is not intended to (hence the 'fallacy' of the 'direct' and 'audiolingual' methods), can therefore be exploited in a positive way in some cases. We may expect that the successful notional structuring will facilitate the encoding of the 'message' into the forms of the TL (if it is a 'productive skill' that is involved) and will also make, on the 'receptive' level, the decoding of particular instances of TL forms, like SF and EF, easier. It will be shown later (see § 3.4) that one of the main difficulties with these forms is that they have different semantic implications in certain contexts.

2.2.10 A well-organized contrastively oriented description of the TL with plenty of examples for the most 'sensitive points' can easily be exploited by teachers in that it can serve as a systematic frame of reference to which they can resort in moments of doubt and from which they can extract

'authentic',<sup>1</sup> examples for explanations and exercises.

2.2.11 Thus we can distinguish the following stages in the methodology for describing IL (probably the most similar approach to the one suggested here is the one by Nemser & Slama-Cazacu 1970: 'contact analysis'):

- i) The starting point is intuitive hunches about or genuine observations of learning difficulties,

- 
1. The CA of this study is largely based upon a comparison of E texts and their published G translations. The observed structures of the SL and TL are taken as 'textual translation equivalents' (Catford 1965:27), the fundamental assumption being that they are 'perfect' equivalences. These are the sources of the material for the CA:
    - i) G. Greene (1948): The Heart of the Matter, Penguin 1968 - (= HM) Das Herz aller Dinge, Zsolnay, Hamburg 1951
    - ii) L. Leopold & K. S. Davis (1966): Water, Time-Life Books, Pocket Ed. 1970 (= W) - Wasser, Rowohlt, Hamburg 1970
    - iii) G. Orwell (1949): Nineteen Eighty-Four, Penguin 1964 - (= 1984) 1984, Diana Verlag, Konstanz 1963
    - iv) H. Pinter (1965): The Homecoming, Methuen, London 1968 - (= H) Die Heimkehr, Rowohlt, Hamburg 1967
    - v) A. Sillitoe (1959): The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, PAN Books, London 1965 - (= LDR) Die Einsamkeit des Langstreckenlufers dtv, Munchen 1969
    - vi) M. Spark (1961): The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie, Penguin 1965 - (= JB) Die Lehrerin, Rowohlt, Hamburg 1969
    - vii) A. Wesker (1959): Chicken Soup with Barley, Penguin 1959 - (= CSB) Huhnersuppe mit Graupen, edition Suhrkamp, Frankfurt/M. 1967

Furthermore, about 12 hours' recorded speech from a variety of BBC programmes (Radios 1 - 4) were analysed, in addition to occasional observations in newspaper texts, overheard conversations, and the like. The corpus-based information was supplemented by intuitively obtained data.



- ii) preparation of a thoroughgoing CA of the area under investigation where, however, the description of the TL system is given definite priority in scope and depth,
- iii) systematic collection of learners' productive language data (cf. Slama-Cazacu's concept of 'acquisition corpus', 1974:238f):
  - a) students' 'ordinary' classroom work: Rs, GEs, dictations, exercises, etc,
  - b) setting of 'free essays' (FE) within a certain well-thought-out range of topics,
  - c) translation tests on certain selected language points with varying degrees of surface constraints: non-contextualized, contextualized, cloze techniques, etc,
  - d) open-ended interpretation tests on selected language points,
  - e) desirable although not carried out for this study: observation in the classroom, recordings of oral compositions (on the basis of picture stories, silent movies, recorded stories (dialogues), recordings of dialogues between teacher/analyst and students,
- iv) systematic analysis of the collected corpus of learners' production:
  - a) qualitatively sound account of both well-formed and ill-formed items of  $L_2$  acquisition (= PA) with due attention to a satisfactory classificatory system,



- b) quantitatively sound account of the given data with a certain amount of statistical treatment, not to forget zero or low frequency occurrences of certain forms,
- c) setting up of a 'hierarchical system of errors' (Slama-Cazacu 1974:241) within the error corpus on the basis of their 'relative frequency' (with regard to the classificatory system put forward) and the degree of their 'communicative failure' in terms of 'acceptability' to native speakers (we can, of course, not say anything on the 'real' communicative act, this is a psychological problem, a matter of discourse proper),
- v) feeding back of the data gained from the PA to learners in the form of more controlled types of 'tests' (multiple-choice, free/forced-choice selection, controlled interpretation) thereby supplementing the picture of learners' IL for the level of reception,
- vi) desirable although not carried out for this study: submission of the empirically established 'hierarchical system of errors', for both production and reception, to appropriate groups of native speakers of the TL (= 'tolerance studies').

### 2.3 Data-producing devices

2.3.1 The data for the PA have been extracted from FEs, GEs and Rs written by West-Berlin grammar school pupils of class 10 (age: 16+). These pupils were in their 4th or 6th year of English as a foreign language, depending on whether they started

with Latin or English in the primary school (the second group being the larger one). The weekly quota of instruction over these years had been three to five periods of 45 minutes each. There is no question of real specialization as yet. I had available two complete sets of 'Klassenarbeiten' written over the period of one academic year. I selected - at random - 22 exercise-books, altogether 124 pieces of written work. I also had another seven forms write FEs proper. These essays were written anonymously and without any preparation whatever, yielding another 142 instances of written composition. After the students had written the essay in E they were asked to translate it back into G thus providing an 'authoritative interpretation' (Corder 1972:30), as compared with the 'plausible interpretation' which the analyst has to assign in the case of GEs and Rs.

In choosing adequate topics for the FEs I found it necessary to counterbalance the dominance of narrative speech which is such a salient feature of G learners' written classroom work at this stage of their L<sub>2</sub> career, especially in the Rs. Weinrich (1970) distinguishes two main 'speech situations': the 'narrative' and the 'discursive' (NS and DS). Although this is, of course, a totally inadequate characterization of discourse phenomena I found the distinction useful because it highlights an important difference in the use of tenses:<sup>1</sup> the 'zero tense' for narratives is the

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1. This is not to say that I agree with Weinrich's tense theory. For the most recent criticism of Weinrich 1971, cf. Nehls 1974:21ff; also the list of critical reviews of Weinrich's work compiled in the 1971 edition itself.

preterite, for 'commentaries' the present. With the exception of one topic the data for the FEs were instances of DS. The size of the total corpus of written compositions (CC) amounts to almost 60.000 words. Here is a breakdown of the topics with the abbreviations used hereafter for identifying them:

A. Classroom work ('Klassenarbeiten')

1. Retolds

- a) The man who was thrown off (NS/R, Thrown off)
- b) The story of the Atlantic cable (NS/R, Cable)
- c) The Highlander's dog (NS/R, Dog)
- d) Little by little - the boasting knight (NS/R, Knight)

2. Guided Essays

- a) The power of observation and deduction (NS/GE, Holmes)
- b) Huck Finn and/or Tom Sawyer (NS/GE, Sawyer)
- c) Point out the differences between the British and the West-Berlin school systems (DS/GE, Diff.)
- d) Describe the chamber of the House of Commons (DS/GE, Commons)
- e) Add some ideas of your own about one of the following poems: Cargoes (Masefield) or Cynddylan on a tractor (Thomas) (DS/GE, Poem)

3. Free Essays

- a) A letter to my British pen-friend who is going to spend three weeks in Berlin (DS/FE, Letter)
- b) My hobby (DS/FE, Hobby)

B. Free Compositions (& authoritative interpretation)

- a) A dream (NS/FE, Dream)
- b) A woman's place is in the kitchen ... (DS/FE, Woman)

- c) Would you buy a car or a motor cycle if you had the money? (DS/FE, Car)
- d) Father X says: '10 marks a month is enough pocket money for my son/daughter..' (DS/FE, Money)
- e) Pot should (not) be sold like tobacco (DS/FE, Pot)
- f) Teaching should more and more be carried out by machines (DS/FE, Machines)
- g) The attractions of a big capital (DS/FE, Capital)
- h) Grammar school children should (not) have a say in school matters (DS/FE, School)

2.3.2 A group of 25 students was given a translation test aiming specifically at contrastively relevant points. The test consisted of two separate papers comprising, respectively, 47 or 50 contextualized and non-contextualized G sentences. The students' responses were submitted to a certain 'idealization' process in that many of the irrelevant mistakes were eliminated. The remaining utterance types were incorporated as 'alternatives' into an 'evaluation and preference test' (cf. Greenbaum & Quirk 1970:5, 16) in multiple-choice format (henceforth E & P). The evaluation was in terms of translation equivalence.<sup>1</sup> This test

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1. The instructions were as follows:

Anweisung: Für jeden deutschen Satz werden 5 (einige Male mehr) 'mögliche' Übersetzungen im Englischen angeboten. Einige dieser sogenannten 'Übersetzungen' sind grammatisch falsche englische Sätze; andere sind grammatisch richtig, aber inhaltlich keine Übersetzungen des deutschen Satzes; andere wiederum sind sowohl grammatisch richtig als auch Übersetzungen des vorgegebenen deutschen Satzes. Das letztere ist hier von Interesse. In den nachfolgenden Testaufgaben werden Sie gebeten, ein Urteil über die 'Akzeptabilität' der angebotenen 'Übersetzungen' abzugeben. Machen Sie deshalb Folgendes:

(Footnote continued at foot of next page)

was completed by the students of two forms involving a total of 51 subjects. The results will be given in tables at the appropriate places of the descriptive section (§ 5). In the actual test the items were presented in a randomized fashion. This also applies to the other EPs discussed below.

2.3.3 The use of the EF is primarily a semantic problem (see § 3.4). It would therefore be most revealing to know what the students think this form 'means' (denotes): first, by confronting them with this form in certain defined contexts, then by deducing, if possible, a more general idea from these individual 'responses'. Their notions about the 'function' of this form need not, of course, be isomorphous with the one(s) expounded in scholarly grammars or even those voiced in pedagogic grammars. Therefore, in a first stage of the analysis, another group of learners (28 subjects) was

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(Footnote continued from last page)

1. Wenn ein englischer Satz Ihnen als 'perfekte' Übersetzung erscheint, dann machen Sie ein Häkchen (✓) in die erste Spalte rechts neben den Satz.
2. Wenn Ihnen ein Satz in Form und/oder Inhalt als 'fehlerhafte' Übersetzung erscheint, dann machen Sie ein Kreuz (X) in die erste Spalte rechts neben den Satz.

Geben Sie für jeden der angebotenen englischen Sätze Ihr Urteil ab: ✓ oder X. Jede einzelne Testaufgabe kann also mehr als eine 'perfekte' Übersetzung enthalten!

Stellen Sie anschliessend eine Rangordnung hinsichtlich der Güte der Übersetzungen auf (1 bis 5). Wählen Sie dazu den englischen Satz aus, dem Sie als Übersetzung den grössten Vorzug geben.

Schreiben Sie die Ziffer 1 in die zweite Spalte rechts neben den Satz. Dann die 'zweitbeste' Übersetzung (=2) usw. bis 5 (also 1,2,3,4,5). Sollten Sie zwei oder mehr Sätzen den gleichen Rangplatz zuordnen wollen, so benutzen Sie die gleiche Ziffer zwei- oder mehrmals (z.B. 1,1,2,3,4 oder 1,2,2,3 usw.)

Sie haben also für jeden englischen Satz zwei Dinge zu tun, z.B.:

Dieses Buch war in der Bücherei zu finden.

- a) This book was in the library to find. X 4
- b) This book could be found in the library. ✓ 1
- c) ...

Warten Sie bitte auf die mündlichen Anweisungen im Hinblick auf die Zeit, die für jede Aufgabe zur Verfügung steht.

confronted with an open-ended 'interpretation test' consisting of two parts with 21 or 24 items respectively. The pupils were asked to 'give interpretations' to individual sentences containing an EF or, more frequently, to pairs of sentences in which SF and EF were contrasted ('minimal opposition pairs'). This type of test was used by Bendix (1966:18ff). Bendix's whole test design, ie, his other tests too, has since then come under severe (and justified) criticism by Ariel (1967) and Leech (1970), the most relevant point in this context being that Bendix's tests assume prior knowledge on the part of the analyst of what the semantic contrasts or features are which these tests are meant to elicit. Drawing the valuable distinction between 'tests as discovery procedures' and 'tests as hypothesis-testing procedures' Leech (1970:350) states that a semantic test proper ought to be of the latter kind. It is part of the scientific process of testing a hypothesis against empirical observations. It is not to be confused with the linguist's 'discovery procedures', or more loosely, informal 'field methods'.<sup>1</sup> Yet this is precisely what these 'interpretation tests' are used for at this stage of the heuristic process towards the description of the 'unknown' learners language. At this point the analyst is still collecting data or eliciting language behaviour in very much an open-ended fashion. These interpretation tests are not meant to be semantic tests proper. They are exploratory and, on purpose, not rigorous.

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1. Neither with Chomsky's 'strict' usage of this term for gaining a structural analysis immediately from empirical data (1957:51ff).

The students' responses to the E sentences of the open-ended interpretation test were analyzed with regard to the kinds of 'semantic notions' which the students associated with the SF or EF in specific contexts. Three basic insights evolved from this analysis:

- i) Most students, if followed up individually, show an unstable 'system' with respect to the semantic relationships associated with certain forms in specified contexts. Thus they interpret, eg, the expanded present perfect form of predicates like knit a sweater (see §3.4, §4.4) as implying sometimes an 'incomplete event', sometimes a 'complete event'. Or a sentence like John has been running since noon is interpreted in that John is still running, whereas he is said to have stopped running in John has been running for the last two hours. It would be most revealing to carry out in-depth studies of individual learners. This must be left to further investigation. This study aims primarily at a picture of the age-group as a whole.
- ii) The inappropriacy and inconsistency of some of the interpretations given by the pupils can frequently be traced back to the intricate interplay of the learners' previous experience of language data in conjunction with 'faulty' or insufficient explanations of the pedagogic grammar. Thus learners will generally tend to interpret occurrences of the EF in terms of 'progression' and/or 'duration'. In some, inappropriate, instances they will,



however, see a principle of 'limited duration' operating, as, eg, in the case of simultaneous events (see § 3.5, § 5.7.2) like He was watching television while she played the piano, where the EF is then said to denote a 'shorter' action than the activity expressed by the predicate in the SF. This would seem to be due to the overgeneralization of the interpretation of predicates like live in London (see § 5.5.1) which are correctly understood by most students as denoting a shorter stretch of time if they occur in the EF. Or they will not accept sentences like John is being polite, the 'explanation' being that adjectives denote states and states can never be 'in progress' at any particular time.

The usual pedagogic strategy in teaching the EF to G learners of E is the use of adverbials like gerade, in diesem Augenblick, etc, from an early stage onwards.

This would seem to give rise to two faulty interpretations of the EF. A sentence like He is dying is then interpreted by some students as 'Er stirbt gerade/jetzt, im nächsten Augenblick ist er tot'. Or, not being aware that G gerade can also denote 'recent past', they read this sentence as: 'Er ist gerade (= vor kurzer Zeit) gestorben'.

- iii) The distinction between logical and factual implication which is crucial to semantic theory (cf. Leech 1974:9, 15, 86-90) is only of limited relevance in the study of the students' 'semantic competence'. For 'ordinary' native speakers, linguists and philosophers alike it is often difficult to draw this distinction clearly. For L<sub>2</sub>



learners the distinction gets frequently completely blurred: they may take 'occasional' or factual implication to be the criterial components of the denotation of a form. Logical (or semantic) and factual implication are usually not clearly differentiated by the learner. If it is the analyst's aim to find out what the students think the forms in question 'mean' the appropriate EPs cannot be of the 'design' proposed by, eg, Leech (1970) for native speakers: 'semantic tests' (ie, where only 'conceptual meaning' is taken into account) functioning as a hypothesis testing device. 'Semantic tests' for L<sub>2</sub> learners will have to include instances of both logical and factual implication.

The hypotheses resulting from the data-processing and 'guesswork' based on the open-ended interpretation test have to be tested again in a more rigid fashion, by making use of procedures involving a greater degree of 'constraints'. This resulted in a 'test' named 'controlled interpretation' (CI) which incorporated the semantic notions expressed by the learners in the open-ended test.<sup>1</sup> It was completed by another set of 42 students. The results will be given in tables in section 5.

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1. The instructions were as follows:

Anweisung: Bei jeder Testaufgabe finden Sie einen englischen Satz und mehrere deutsche Sätze. Angenommen, dass die Handlung, die durch den englischen Satz bezeichnet ist, wahr ist, so sollen Sie nun entscheiden, ob die jeweiligen deutschen Sätze auch wahr sind. Führen Sie die folgenden Überlegungen für jeden deutschen Satz einzeln durch:

1. Wenn Sie meinen, dass der jeweilige deutsche Satz wahr ist, dann machen Sie ein Häkchen (✓) rechts neben den deutschen Satz.
2. Wenn Sie meinen, dass der jeweilige deutsche Satz nicht wahr

(Footnote continued at foot of next page)

2.3.3 A two-term opposition like the SF - EF contrast can be tested very satisfactorily by means of performance tests of the 'free-choice selection' (FCS) format (cf. Greenbaum & Quirk 1970: 4, Kempson & Quirk 1971). Many items are taken from the students' compositions (errors and non-errors) and are therefore fully contextualized. The selection score has to be supplemented by an objection score since the 'correct' selection of a specific form does not necessarily ensure the 'correct' rejection of the other form of the opposition. The student may also accept or reject either. The selection test is therefore followed by an evaluation test which requires the subjects to make a judgement on sentences

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sein kann, dann machen Sie ein Kreuz (X) rechts neben den Satz.  
3. Wenn Sie meinen, dass der jeweilige deutsche Satz manchmal wahr sein kann, manchmal aber auch nicht, wenn Sie also über den eindeutigen Wahrheitsgehalt im Zweifel sind, dann machen Sie ein Fragezeichen (?) rechts neben den deutschen Satz.  
4. Wenn Sie absolut nicht wissen, welche Antwort Sie geben sollen, dann machen Sie einen Strich (-) rechts neben den Satz.  
5. Wenn Ihre Antwort ein Fragezeichen (?) war, dann nennen Sie bitte die besonderen Umstände, unter denen der jeweilige deutsche Satz wahr sein kann oder auch nicht. Benutzen Sie das extra Blatt; vergessen Sie bitte nicht die laufende Nummer der Testaufgabe und den Buchstaben des deutschen Satzes.  
Nehmen Sie bitte keine Änderungen bei 'alten' Aufgaben vor.  
Lassen Sie stehen, was Sie 'auf Anhieb' entschieden oder verstanden haben. Warten Sie auf die mündlichen Anweisungen im Hinblick auf die Zeit, die für jede Aufgabe zur Verfügung steht.  
Beispiel: 'This watch was given Mary by John'  
a) Mary gab John eine Uhr. (X)  
b) John gab Mary eine Uhr. (✓)  
c) John bekam von Mary eine Uhr. (X) usw.

with either form.<sup>1</sup> The test was completed by two more classes comprising a total of 42 pupils. The results will be presented in tables in section 5.

Both the multiple-choice and the free choice selection test help to answer three basic questions:

- i) Does the learner 'know the rules' for generating a

- 
1. The instructions for the free-selection and the subsequent evaluation test were as follows:

- i) free-choice selection test:

Anweisung: Bei jeder Testaufgabe ist zumindest ein Wort ausgelassen, manchmal auch mehr, z.B.:

Bob finished \_\_\_\_\_ a sandcastle (= 'Strandburg')  
Darunter befinden sich zwei Wörter zur Auswahl. Die Reihenfolge, in der diese stehen, spielt keine Rolle, z.B.:  
(to build, building)

Alles was Sie zu tun haben ist zu entscheiden, welches der beiden Wörter besser in die freie Stelle des obigen Satzes passt. Schreiben Sie dann das von Ihnen gewählte 'Wort' in diese freie Stelle, z.B.:

Bob finished building a sandcastle.

Sie können also jeweils nur eins der beiden 'Wörter' nehmen und einsetzen! Warten Sie bitte auf die mündlichen Anweisungen im Hinblick auf die Zeit, die für jede Aufgabe zur Verfügung steht.

- ii) subsequent evaluation test:

Anweisung: In den folgenden Testaufgaben werden Sie gebeten, ein Urteil über die 'Akzeptabilität' der angebotenen Sätze abzugeben. Sie sollen dieses Urteil rasch fällen, also ohne allzu lange über die Sätze nachzugrübeln. Machen Sie deshalb Folgendes:

1. Wenn ein Satz Ihnen völlig normal und natürlich erscheint, dann machen Sie ein Häkchen (✓) rechts neben den Satz.
2. Wenn ein Satz Ihnen völlig unnatürlich und unnormal erscheint, dann machen Sie ein Kreuz (X) rechts neben den Satz.
3. Wenn Ihnen der Satz irgendwo zwischen diesen beiden Extremen liegt ('ein bisschen zweifelhaft', 'vielleicht' usw.), dann machen Sie ein Fragezeichen (?) rechts neben den Satz.

In jeder Testaufgabe finden Sie ein Paar von Sätzen, die sich in einem 'Punkt' unterscheiden. Geben Sie für jeden der beiden Sätze ein getrenntes Urteil ab. Dabei können Sie auch beide Sätze für normal, unnormal oder zweifelhaft halten. Beispiel:

Bob finished building a sandcastle. ✓ oder oder X usw.

Bob finished to build a sandcastle. X oder oder ? usw.

Warten Sie bitte auf die mündlichen Anweisungen im Hinblick auf die Zeit, die für jede Aufgabe zur Verfügung steht.

particular structure of the TL? Sometimes the test item will also ask for the production of related structures.

ii) If not what rules does he use to produce utterances with the same (intended) semantic properties? These will be structures a bilingual competence would not accept or generate.

iii) Does he have sets of alternative rules, ie, does he operate both deviant and non-deviant structures simultaneously?

### 3. Learning problem 'Expanded Form' - a performance analysis

The subsequent analysis is based on learners' written compositions (see above § 2.3.1). These learners were not the same ones as those involved in the EPs. Judgements of appropriateness were made with the help of several native speakers of English. They 'commented' on the essays themselves, evaluation was pronounced on fully contextualized data. The analysis will concentrate upon the following questions as regards the appropriate use of both SF and EF, since the EF cannot be adequately accounted for without frequent recourse to the other member of the opposition:

- i) structural errors,
- ii) overall occurrence of EF and SF,
- iii) distribution according to NS and DS,
- iv) distribution according to degree of 'spontaneity' of the production,
- v) distribution in relation to individual students,
- vi) distribution in relation to certain types of predicates,
- vii) difficulties arising with related events.



### 3.1 Structural errors

The absence of the copula from the be + ing - construction seems a salient feature of American 'Black English' and was also found in other nonstandard English dialects, eg, the speech of Mexican-American children (Politzer & Ramirez 1973:45). There is no case of be - omission in the CC if the reference is to 'actual present' (see § 5.3.2.1).<sup>1</sup> What we do find is three instances of a 'hypercorrect' structure of the following kind, in conjunction with a modal:

(1.1) \* They get money how the men when they have high posts.

I mean that women should just working when they have no children. When the children are going to school then can the mother working for the dinner (DS/FE, Woman).

The CC contains no hybridized structure of EF and SF such as \*He is walks. There are, however, structural blends of do and ing like:

- 
1. Absence of the copula can, however, be observed when the students are involved in a translation task. Thus the following distribution of occurrences held for the 'preliminary' translation test, the performances in which then served as the input to the evaluation and preference test (see § 2.3.2):

forms	well-formed	<u>be</u> -omission	ratio
am/are/is V-ing	184	3	60 : 1
was/were V-ing	271	7	40 : 1
have/has been V-ing	35	20	1.75 : 1
had been V-ing	1	3	1 : 3

Table 1: Absence of copula in translation task

We may wish to consider this an indication of an increasing 'insecurity' towards these forms.

\* The 10 marks do not helping him very much (two examples).

Another error type is the use of the 'passive form' instead of the EF (three cases; cf. Olsson 1973 for the same finding with Swedish learners):

(1.2) \* Therefore he had an interval of prosperity. At last he was taken to drink (NS/GE, Holmes).

(1.2a)<sup>1</sup> Therefore he must have had intervals of prosperity. At last he was taking to drink.

We also find the structural inverse of the latter, although these are, of course, only EF-like forms but not genuine attempts at an EF:

(1.3) \* He loved her so much that he let himself be whipping for the tearing of a book from his teacher (NS/GE, Sawyer).

(1.3a) ...that he let himself be whipped for tearing a book of his teacher's.

### 3.2 Overall occurrence and distribution according to 'text types'

Table 2 gives a breakdown of the essays, grouped together according to NS or DS and degrees of 'spontaneity' (ie, R, GE, FE), in relation to:

- i) the number of words (total),

- 
1. From now on the following convention will be used for students' utterances: the first sentence is the one produced by the student. If it was deemed ill-formed or inappropriate it will be marked with an asterisk (\*). The second one is either the analyst's or student's interpretation (if this is considered necessary to be provided), or the analyst's reconstruction of what an E competence would have produced in the particular context. If there is an interpretation given the reconstruction is the third sentence.

Table 2: Analysis of finite verb forms in students' compositions

'Speech situation'	DISCURSIVE SPEECH													
	FREE ESSAY							GUIDED ESSAY						
	Topic	Woman	Car	Machines	Pot	School	Capital	Money	Hobby	Letter	Diff	Commons	Poem	
No of essays		43	33	8	12	7	7	21	4	3	9	12	10	
Words		7.385	4.065	1.055	1.790	1.245	915	3.260	1.180	1.020	1.920	2.240	2.045	
Finite V-Forms		782	518	131	230	152	101	387	143	131	184	208	253	
Tot		37	9	1	3	0	3	7	3	1	1	16	13	
No		25	3	1	2	0	3	6	2	1	1	16	0	
+		12	6	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	13	
Tot		4.7	1.7	.8	1.3	0	3.0	1.9	2.0	.8	.5	7.7	5.1	
%		3.2	.6	.8	.9	0	3.0	1.6	1.3	.8	.5	7.7	0	
+		1.5	1.2	0	.4	0	0	.3	.7	0	0	0	5.1	
M (EF)		500	222	95	168	0	305	214	255	98	52	713	637	
Tot	No	261	96	30	79	41	21	136	77	52	54	52	90	
%		33.4	18.6	22.9	34.4	27.0	20.8	35.2	51.7	39.7	29.3	25.0	35.6	
SF +	No	253	91	30	78	41	21	134	76	50	54	52	89	
*	No	8	5	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	
%		1.0	1.0	0	.4	0	0	.5	.7	1.5	0	0	.4	
be	No	120	156	41	55	28	40	72	30	29	51	64	89	
%		15.3	30.2	31.3	24.0	18.4	39.6	18.6	20.2	22.1	27.7	30.8	35.2	
have	No	74	43	7	3	6	6	36	12	18	8	8	16	
%		9.5	8.3	5.3	1.3	3.9	5.9	9.3	8.1	13.7	4.3	3.9	6.3	
have-nom.	No	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
%		.1	.2	0	0	1.2	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
modal+be	No	22	15	10	9	8	1	5	0	0	1	0	3	
%		2.8	2.9	7.6	3.9	5.3	1.0	1.3	0	0	.5	0	1.2	
modal+have	No	8	9	1	2	8	0	9	0	0	0	3	1	
%		1.0	1.7	.8	.9	5.3	0	2.3	0	0	0	1.4	.4	
modal+V	No	213	172	27	45	39	22	114	22	25	55	24	22	
%		27.2	33.2	20.6	19.6	25.6	21.8	29.5	14.8	19.1	29.9	11.5	8.7	
V passive	No	17	1	5	5	5	0	1	0	1	6	11	9	
%		2.2	.2	3.8	2.2	3.3	0	.3	0	.8	3.3	5.3	3.6	
modal+Vpass	No	5	6	9	16	9	0	2	1	0	0	9	0	
%		.6	1.2	6.9	7.0	5.9	0	.5	.7	0	0	4.3	0	
there is	No	25	8	1	13	6	7	5	4	5	8	.21	10	
%		3.1	1.5	.8	5.6	4.0	7.0	1.3	2.7	3.8	4.3	10.0	4.0	



N A R R A T I V E S P E E C H													T O T A L		
FE	GE		RETOLD										DS	NS	Σ
	Sawyer Holmes	Thrown	Cable	Dog	Knight	Railway	Post	Present							
11	10	10	9	10	10	9	10	9	9						
1.765	5.460	5.840	2.360	2.620	3.125	2.130	1.835	2.605	2.145				28.090	29.885	57.975
254	688	747	368	288	398	311	192	343	288				3.226	3.677	6.903
7	11	8	11	4	9	2	2	3	3				94	60	154
1	5	1	3	2	3	1	1	2	0				60	19	79
6	6	8	8	2	6	1	1	1	3				34	41	75
2.8	1.6	1.1	3.0	1.4	2.3	.6	1.0	.9	1.0				2.9	1.6	2.2
.4	.7	.1	.8	.7	.8	.3	.5	.6	0				1.8	.5	1.2
2.4	.9	.9	2.2	.7	1.5	.3	.5	.3	1.0				1.1	1.1	1.1
397	200	137	466	153	288	94	109	115	140				335	200	266
146	321	404	224	146	194	151	122	183	150				889	2.020	2.909
57.5	46.7	54.2	60.9	50.7	48.8	48.6	63.6	53.3	52.2				27.5	55.0	42.2
146	320	394	221	142	190	148	115	179	150				869	1.963	2.832
21	1	10	3	4	4	3	7	4	0				20	57	77
8.3	.1	1.3	.8	1.4	1.0	1.0	3.6	1.2	0				.6	1.6	1.1
53	193	194	62	57	102	51	30	49	43				775	834	1.609
20.9	28.1	26.0	16.9	19.8	25.6	16.4	15.6	14.3	15.0				24.1	22.7	23.3
8	32	41	2	7	16	5	0	10	10				247	131	378
3.2	4.7	5.5	.5	2.4	4.0	1.6	0	2.9	3.5				7.7	3.6	5.5
5	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0				5	10	15
2.0	0	0	.3	0	.3	1.0	0	0	0				.2	.3	.2
3	7	9	5	3	4	1	0	4	0				74	36	110
1.2	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.0	1.0	.3	0	1.2	0				2.3	1.0	1.6
0	4	7	0	0	3	0	0	1	2				41	16	57
0	.6	.9	0	0	.8	0	0	.3	.7				1.3	.4	.8
23	95	60	58	18	63	77	10	65	68				780	537	1.317
9.1	13.8	8.0	15.8	6.3	15.9	24.8	5.2	19.0	23.6				24.2	14.6	19.1
2	18	0	3	35	5	10	22	16	0				61	111	172
.8	2.6	0	.8	12.2	1.3	3.2	11.5	4.7	0				1.9	3.0	2.5
0	3	14	0	13	1	0	1	4	0				55	36	91
0	.4	1.3	0	4.5	.3	0	.5	1.2	0				1.7	1.0	1.3
7	4	10	2	5	0	11	5	8	12				109	65	174
2.8	.6	1.3	.6	1.7	0	3.5	2.6	2.3	4.1				3.4	1.6	2.5

- ii) the number of finite verb forms,
- iii) the absolute number of appropriately and inappropriately<sup>1</sup> used EFs and SFs and their relative frequency as indicated by their percentage with respect to the number of finite verb forms in each category,
- iv) the occurrences of finite forms of be and have, where the category 'have - nominalizations' covers cases like have a dream etc,
- v) the occurrence of modals,
- vi) the number of 'passive' verb forms,
- vii) the various structures of the existential there is/are - construction,
- viii) the category labeled M stands for the 'frequency coefficient' as introduced by Mossé (cf. Nehls 1974:137): it indicates the number of EFs per 100.000 words.

The CC contains altogether 154 instances of EFs of which about 50 per cent are used inappropriately. In other words: every second occurrence of an EF constitutes an error. Roughly the same absolute number (77) of SFs are employed inappropriately. This does, of course, represent a much smaller percentage of all non-expanded forms (about 2.6 per cent). This finding suggests:

- i) in relative terms, the 'insecurity' in using the EF, ie, the 'marked' member of the opposition (see §4.1) correctly is much greater than with the use of the SF,

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1. A plus sign (+) is used in the tables for appropriately used forms, an asterisk (\*) for inappropriately used ones.

- ii) there is a marked tendency in G learners' use of the EF to extend its scope of application to those instances where it is not acceptable, ie, the main source of error is 'overgeneralization',
- iii) students also do not seem to be aware that there are cases in which the SF is the incorrectly selected form; errors of this type are probably due to 'interference': in the absence of a direct formal counterpart the G learner 'transfers' the 'simple' structure of his  $L_1$  to the  $L_2$ . He employs the 'unmarked' member to cover the functions of both forms. This is no contradiction: both sources of error can operate at the same time, either member of the marked-unmarked opposition poses its own specific problems.

Although having identified 'overgeneralization' as the most 'productive' source of error with respect to the EF I would not conclude, in an overall view, that this form is massively 'over-represented' in G learners' written English. The corpus analyzed by Ota (1963) contained 2.3 per cent EFs and the one analyzed by Allen (1966:136ff) 4.3 per cent. Taking all occurrences of EFs into account the CC has a mere 2.2 per cent EFs in it. This overall view is supported by the analysis of the frequency coefficient M. Nehls (1974:157) computes an  $M = 837$  for a selection of postwar British plays and an  $M = 700$  for a novel by John Braine (Nehls 1974: 177). In contrast we obtain  $M = 266$  as an average for all the students' compositions (335 for DS and 200 for NS); but note the much higher M, and also the percentage of EFs, with some of the

essays, notably Commons, Poem, and Woman. The topic which poses greatest difficulty is the Dream where 8.3 per cent of all finite verb forms 'ought to be' EFs (see § 3.4 for a more 'general' qualitative justification of the need for a 'reconstructed' form). This comparatively low frequency of the EF is probably due to the character of the corpus investigated. The analysis of learners' written production will eventually have to be supplemented by a study of their spoken output: cf. Allen (1966:136) who observes that about 70 per cent of the EFs in his corpus occur in "predominantly conversational material".

Breaking up the appropriate and inappropriate use of EF and SF according to the two types of 'speech situation' distinguished here we find that despite roughly the same size of DS and NS material (total number of words, finite verb forms) the EF tends to be used incorrectly in a much larger number of cases in DS than in NS, whereas the inverse relationship holds with SFs. If we relate the absolute occurrences to the total number of EFs used in the CC we obtain the following distribution:

speech situation occurrences		DS	NS	$\Sigma$
Total	No	94	60	154
	%	61.0	39.0	100
*	No	60	19	79
	%	39.0	12.3	51.3
+	No	34	41	75
	%	22.0	26.7	48.7

Table 3 : Use of EFs in relation to DS or NS

Out of 77 wrongly used SFs 20 instances (= 26 per cent) belong to the DS category whereas 57 (or 74 per cent) were employed incorrectly

in NS. Considering that most compositions in the NS and DS category were Rs or FEs respectively let us follow up the influence of the variable 'spontaneity' (increase in 'free' production from R over GE to FE) on the distribution of errors:

N = 154		FE	GE	R
*	No	44	24	12
	%	28.1	15.6	7.8
+	No	27	26	21
	%	17.5	16.9	13.6

Table 4 : Use of EFs in relation to 'spontaneity' of composition

Whereas the correct use of the EF is more or less balanced in the three types of compositions there is a marked increase in 'insecurity' in the use of the EF towards the more 'spontaneous' speech. If we relate the absolute figures to the occurrences of the inappropriately employed EFs (N = 79) we find that more than half the errors are committed in FEs:

N = 79		FE	GE	R
No		44	24	12
	%	56.7	30.3	15.2

Table 5: Distribution of wrongly used EFs in relation to 'spontaneity' of composition

A similar picture holds with the incorrect use of the SF: again more than 50 per cent of the errors are made in FEs:

N = 77		FE	GE	R
No		40	12	25
	%	52.0	15.6	32.4

Table 6: Distribution of wrongly used SFs in relation to 'spontaneity' of composition



It may be noted that errors in the use of the EF do not show up in any 'great number' in the pupils 'retolds'. Drubig (1972:84) also observes that 'relatively few' errors occurred in the corpus of students' 'Klassenarbeiten'. Our findings give a positive answer to Drubig's hypothesis, namely that the EF errors that can be found in Rs can hardly be statistically representative for this specific learning problem. Rs are certainly not an adequate sample. 'Ordinary' classroom work data have to be supplemented by other data-producing procedures. We may repeat at this juncture that the whole CC does not contain one expanded present/plu-/or future perfect cluster, which does 'probably' not correspond to the frequency with which these forms would have been employed by native speakers of E in the same writing situation. The methodological problem with Levenston's notion of 'under-representation' (1971:115), even when it takes the extreme form of complete absence of certain 'clusters', was already pointed out above ( § 2.2.4).

The reason for computing the occurrences of be and have stemmed from the writer's assumption (a 'hunch') that the pupils would tend to use be and have as the verb, instead of main verbs proper, rather excessively in 'freer' speech. This would then have been an indication of some sort of 'simplification' strategy<sup>1</sup> employed for more 'spontaneous' production. Although it is true that finite forms of main verbs are used more frequently in NS than in DS (55.0 : 27.5 per cent of all finite verb forms respectively)

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1. The notion of 'simplification' (= "change in complexity of outer form": Hymes 1971:70) which is of crucial importance in studies of sociolinguistic change, especially 'pidginization' can probably fruitfully be applied to the study of IL too.

the total number of all forms of be (including modal + be and the existential there-construction) is about the same in both DS and NS (29.7 and 27.9 per cent). This seems to mirror the frequency with which be is used by native speakers (24.8 per cent in Allen's corpus, 1966:136). If we relate the relative frequency of be to the 'spontaneity' of the production we get the following distribution:

		FE	GE	R
No of finite verbs		2.835	2.080	2.188
<u>be</u>	No	624	591	394
	%	22.0	28.4	18.0
all forms of <u>be</u>	No	774	664	454
	%	27.4	31.9	20.8

Table 7: Distribution of be in relation to 'spontaneity' of production

Forms of be are indeed used relatively more often in FEs than in Rs. I am, however, not entirely sure whether this difference is attributable to a simplification strategy on the part of the learners or to the particular topics involved here. The hypothesis that learners tend to 'over-indulge' in the use of be in more spontaneous production cannot be considered sufficiently validated. In order to obtain more conclusive results we would have to compare learners' essays with those written by native speakers of comparable background, given the same topics.

### 3.3 Distribution in relation to individual students

3.3.1 The CC consists of both the classwork, with about 5 - 6 compositions of the same pupil, and especially elicited FEs, with one essay from each pupil. Within the sub-corpus of 138 FEs 101 essays (73 per cent) do not contain any EF at all. Within the remaining 37 essays the following distribution holds:



No of EFs in one essay	No of students involved	Total of EFs used		Use of EFs	
		No	% (N=72)	*	+
1	18	18	25.0	10	8
2	11	22	30.5	13	9
3	4	12	16.7	9	3
4	1	4	5.6	1	3
5	2	10	13.9	8	2
6	1	6	8.3	3	3
Total	37	72	100	44	28

Table 8: Distribution of EFs in FEs in relation to individual students

The most salient feature of this distribution is the 'massive clustering' of inappropriately employed EFs with a few students.

In other words: out of 138 students involved in the writing of FEs 8 students (or 6 per cent of this group) use about 45 per cent of all the EFs found in the corpus, and they also produce not less than 48 per cent of the EF-errors. This calls for a revision (not a denial) of Levenston's hypothesis with respect to the 'over-use' of certain forms (1971:115):

"One feature of non-native use of a second language, or  $L_2$ , is the excessive use ('over-indulgence') of clause (or group) structures which closely resemble translation equivalents in the mother tongue, or  $L_1$ , to the exclusion of other structures ('under-representation') which are less like anything in  $L_1$ "

Obviously it is also  $L_2$  forms which have no direct formal counterpart in the SL that can be employed excessively. This is probably due to the 'emphasis' which the EF receives in the teaching process: most courses introduce the expanded present form before the simple present form, some 'verbs' are said 'never' to occur in the EF, etc, (see § 6.1). We can describe this phenomenon in a number of ways: the

learner 'attempts' to 'maintain a distance to his  $L_1$ ' or 'to alienate his  $L_2$  performance from his  $L_1$ ' (cf. Drubig 1972:84). It may also be an attempt to 'write English', to employ forms which have been presented to him as 'typically English'. With some students it may be a rather 'conscious' and 'sophisticated' strategy towards TL-approximation, the rationale being something like 'if it is not  $L_1$  it is probably correct'. We may call this salient feature of  $L_2$  learners' language use 'over-compensation'. It can be traced back to 'overgeneralization' as the underlying 'mechanism'. Its 'source'<sup>1</sup> is probably to be found in the 'over-teaching' of these language points combined with notionally insufficient explanations.

The problem of wrongly selecting a SF instead of an EF affects only 21 (= 15 per cent) of the 138 students:

No of wrongly used SFs in one essay	No of students involved	Total of * SF	
		No	%
1	15	15	42.7
2	3	6	17.1
3	1	3	8.5
4	1	4	11.7
7	1	7	20.0
Total	21	35	100

Table 9: Distribution of wrongly used SFs in FEs in relation to individual students

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1. A distinction should be made between 'mechanisms' and 'sources' of error. The former are phenomena like 'interference' and 'overgeneralization', they are inferences about observable data. By 'sources' are to be understood processes which cannot be directly induced from the learners' written production: 'over-teaching', 'bad grading', etc. It is difficult for the author to make any sound statements on the latter which are, of course, very potential sources for error (see, however, § 5 passim and § 6.1 for a review of published pedagogic grammars).

Notice again the clustering of the inappropriately used form with a few individual students: three pupils (or 2.2 per cent of the whole group) make about 40 per cent of the SF errors, or six pupils make about 57 per cent.

3.3.2 124 pieces of 'ordinary' classroom work were analyzed. Apart from one student all the other students (21) use at least one, or more, EF throughout the period of one academic year:

No of EFs per student	No of students involved	Total of EFs used		Use of EF	
		No	%	*	+
0	1	-	-	-	-
1	4	4	4.2	-	4
2	3	6	6.3	2	4
3	4	12	12.5	7	5
4	3	12	12.5	5	7
6	1	6	6.3	2	4
7	2	14	14.5	2	12
8	1	8	8.3	8	-
9	2	18	18.7	12	6
16	1	16	16.7	10	6
Total	22	96	100	48	48

Table 10: Distribution of EFs in class compositions in relation to individual students

The distribution of correctly and incorrectly employed EFs is 'more balanced' here. The pupils can probably often recall from memory where and when EFs were used in the model text on which the R or GE is based. However, the 'cluster' phenomenon operates here too: the six students with the highest EF quotient in their compositions produce 58 per cent of all the EFs used in this sub-corpus. 24 (or 50 per cent) of all the correctly employed but also 32 (or 67 per cent) of all the incorrectly employed EFs can be attributed to the same six pupils. This is to say that a certain sample of students has the EF in its 'active repertoire' of forms ('clustering').

The figures suggest, especially the even distribution of 50 per cent 'right', 50 per cent 'wrong', that these students may be using the form 'randomly'. This points again to the observation made above in the discussion of the open-ended interpretation test (see § 2.3.3) that the individual student, at least at this stage of his  $L_2$  proficiency, may have 'no stable system' as yet as far as the use of the EF is concerned. Having a certain form in one's 'active repertoire' and getting it right in a number of cases does not necessarily presuppose knowledge of its appropriate use - A similar picture holds with the inappropriate use of the SF where four students commit 21 (or 58 per cent) of the errors:

No of wrongly used SFs per student	No of students involved	Total of * SFs used	
		No	%
0	9	-	-
1	6	6	16.7
2	1	2	5.6
3	1	3	8.3
4	1	4	11.1
5	3	15	41.6
6	1	6	16.7
Total	22	36	100

Table 11: Distribution of wrongly used SFs in class compositions in relation to individual students

### 3.3.3 Summary

- i) FES, ie, the more 'spontaneous' type of written composition, contain a higher proportion of inappropriately used EFs,
- ii) there is a tendency with some individual students to use the EF, ie, a form that has no direct formal counterpart in the learners'  $L_1$ , excessively in their written work. This phenomenon for which the term 'over-compensation' is suggested cannot be traced back to  $L_1$

interference,

- iii) the errors with both the EF and SF are made by a relatively small percentage of the group; they are not evenly dispersed over the sample as a whole but 'cluster' with a few students,
- iv) the often even distribution between correctly and incorrectly used EFs suggests that the individual students who have this form in their 'active repertoire' may have no 'stable system' as yet,
- v) 'random' success with a particular form says nothing about the learner's knowledge of its appropriate use,
- vi) the absence of the EF from the majority's 'active repertoire' of forms says nothing about their knowledge of its appropriate use either; zero occurrence of errors does not justify the assumption of the EF-use being internalised into their semantic competence.

### 3.4 Distribution in relation to certain types of 'predicates'

3.4.1 The choice between EF and SF is a matter of the whole sentence (see § 1.5 and § 5). At this point it is sufficient to make use of the classification of 'verbs' (though even here I prefer to distinguish between 'predicates') suggested by Leech (1971:19ff) with certain extensions of my own:

- i) state predicates which generally take the EF: this class comprises predicates such as live/stay (in London) etc, 'verbs of bodily sensation (Leech 1971:22), and 'verbs of posture',
- ii) state predicates which generally do not take the EF: comprising 'verbs of inert perception', 'verb of inert

- cognition', 'state verbs of having and being'  
(Leech 1971:20f),
- iii) activity predicates with agentive<sup>1</sup> subjects: cf. Leech's  
'activity verbs',
  - iv) activity predicates with non-agentive subjects: Leech  
(1971:19) recognizes that not all "activity verbs refer  
to human occupations",
  - v) 'transitional event predicates': cf Leech 1971:19,
  - vi) 'process predicates' with non-agentive subjects:  
cf. Leech 1971:19,
  - vii) 'accomplishment predicates' (see §4.4) with agentive  
or 'source' subject: comprising all 'complex goal-  
directed predicates' such as build a house, walk to the  
station, send s.o. away, kill, etc.

Analyzing correctly and incorrectly employed EFs and SFs in  
relation to these types of predicates as well as the variable  
'spontaneity' we obtain the following distribution:

Type of predicate	Use of EFs								Use of SFs			
	FE		GE		R		Total		FE	GE	R	Total
	*	+	*	+	*	+	*	+				
states & EF	11	7	7	5	2	5	20	17	2	5	5	12
states & SF	4	-	5	-	1	-	10	0	-	-	-	0
agentive activities	19	11	7	9	3	7	29	27	21	7	7	35
non-agentive activities	-	5	-	8	-	4	0	17	3	-	2	5
transitional event pred.	4	-	1	-	5	1	10	1	2	-	-	2
process predicates	1	2	-	1	1	1	2	4	-	-	-	0
accomplishments	4	3	4	3	-	3	8	9	12	-	11	23
Total	43	28	24	26	12	21	79	75	40	12	25	77

Table 12: Distribution of EF and SF in relation to 'spontaneity'  
and types of predicates

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1. The reference is to Fillmore's case roles (1968)



This distribution indicates, in a coarse quantitative fashion, the most 'sensitive' points which will now be dealt with qualitatively in greater detail.

3.4.2 The highest percentage of errors, both with the EF and SF, occurs with agentive activity predicates. Notice again the significant increase of incorrectly used forms in the FEs as opposed to GEs and Rs. With the two latter types of composition the correct use of the EF is more frequent thus adding up to an overall 'balanced uncertainty' as to whether the EF is or is not to be selected with agentive activity predicates. Here are some typical examples:

(1.4)\* The kitchen is the working place of the wife.

Some men are cooking in the kitchen too when it  
is their hobby (DS/FE, Woman)

(1.4a) ..Some men cook in the kitchen when...

(1.5)\* Behind the Speaker's chair is the Smoking Room.

There the leader of the Government is conferring  
with the leader of the Opposition by a whisky-and-  
soda (DS/GE, Commons).

(1.5a) The Smoking Room is behind the Speaker's chair.

There the leader of the Government confers with the  
leader of the Opposition over a whisky-and-soda.

The students overgeneralize the use of the expanded present tense form which is indeed very common with activity predicates to denote the idea of 'ongoingness' (see in particular § 5.3.2.1 for the obligatory selection of the EF in the case of the 'actual present'), to those cases where the simple present tense form is necessary because the context requires the 'habitual use' (cf. Leech 1971: 5; see § 5.6.2) of the simple present. Certain states of affairs



are discussed here from a 'general' point of view.

There are also a number of examples where this contextual restriction is observed. Here the pupils employ the simple present tense form correctly in its 'habitual' or even 'unrestrictive use' (cf. Leech 1971:1f; see § 5.3.4.1):

(1.6) My hobby is the (Ø)<sup>1</sup> music. I play the piano and collect records. When I come home after school my first walk is to the piano (DS/FE, Hobby).

(1.7) This is the opinion of most people living today. The man works and earns the money (DS/FE, Woman).

In other cases we observe the concurrence of SFs and EFs in the same stretch of discourse. This kind of oscillation between SFs and EFs, which again seems to support the suggestion of a 'pre-systematic' stage of learning with regard to the appropriate use of these forms, is generally not acceptable in written DS. The simple present is the 'zero tense', deviations from this 'norm' are dependent upon the type of predicate involved and various other contextual elements. Notice also the 'clustering' of EFs in this particular discourse (the SFs are modalised):

(1.8)\* That was the meaning of our grandfathers. But today some women have to work because their men don't earn enough money for living. In other

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1. These symbols refer to the changes necessary in the reconstruction of the learner's utterances and stand for 'substitution' ( $\Rightarrow$ ), 'deletion' ( $\emptyset$ ).

families the woman is working only a half day in the house and the other half day she is sitting and reading some newspapers. In this time she could work in a factory for electronic instruments (DS/FE, Woman).

- (1.8a) ...because their husbands  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{do not earn} \\ \text{are not earning} \end{array} \right\}$  enough money to live. In other families the woman works only half a day in the house and the other half she sits at home and reads the newspaper. During this time she could  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{work} \\ \text{be working} \end{array} \right\}$  in a factory.

Most of the native informants consulted did not 'like' (for 'stylistic' reasons) the indiscriminate alteration between SFs and EFs, even in contexts where either form was acceptable:

- (1.9) Student tells the story of his mother who took up work again against her husband's will: ... But I think she was feeling better now, she was good for something else. Perhaps the people she was working with said that she did her job well. Her husband only said:...
- (DS/FE, Woman)

- (1.9a) But I think she  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{felt} \\ \text{was feeling} \end{array} \right\}$  better then ... Perhaps the people she  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{worked} \\ \text{was working} \end{array} \right\}$  with (at that time) said that she  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{did} \\ \text{was doing} \end{array} \right\}$  her job well ...

The acceptability of the EF in this context is due to the fact that a definite point of time is referred to at which 'something' was 'going on'. The interpretation of these sentences is not the 'habitual' or 'unrestrictive' one.

The use of the EF in denoting 'actual present' (see § 5.3.2.1) is the 'standard context' in pedagogic grammars for characterizing the 'basic semantics' of this form:

- (1.10) She turns just in time to seize a small boy by the slack of his roundabout. Then she asks: 'What are you doing there in the closet?' (NS/GE, Sawyer).

The EF is usually introduced and practised in conjunction with adverbials like now, at this moment, etc:

- (1.11) Just now his aunt is looking for Tom who is hidden in the closet. Finally he is seized by her but... (NS/GE, Sawyer).

However, the presence of these adverbials does not necessarily secure the 'triggering off' of the EF in the appropriate contexts. On the contrary, the student 'reverses' the use of EF and SF for 'actual' and 'habitual' present:

- (1.12)\* I exercise ( $\Rightarrow$  practise) a new composition which I have on one of my discs. In the moment I work on a sonata of Beethoven. On my record Wilhelm Kempf is it playing (DS/FE, Hobby).

- (1.12a) ... At the moment I am working on a sonata by Beethoven. On my record it is played by W. K. (OR: W.K. plays it on my record).

The presence of now etc. does, however, also 'trigger off' the use of the EF where it is contextually inappropriate. Notice the adverbial modification every day in (1.13) which marks the activity denoted by the sentence as 'habitual'. The use of the simple present tense form is required:

- (1.13)\* Also I need money for books, copy-books, etc. For this I pay three marks a month. And now I am smoking cigarettes every day, and they have such a high price (DS/FE, Money).

The writer states a 'mere fact': he took up smoking recently but now he smokes regularly. There is no idea of 'contrast' implied (see § 5.3.2.7 and also § 5 on 'variability' in general). This would make the EF possible:

(1.14) Last year I smoked 50 cigarettes a day but now I  
am only smoking 10.

The question of the influence of adverbial modification upon the choice of SF or EF will have to be tested in more detail.

Filipovic (1974:105) reports test results showing that Serbo-Croatian learners make fewer errors with the EF when it is accompanied with adverbials like now than when no such modifiers are present. The type of error exemplified by (1.13) casts some doubt upon the 'well-established' teaching strategy of linking up, more or less automatically, EF and adverbials like now. A notionally based pedagogic grammar for the use of the EF may be of help here.

NS poses considerably fewer problems with activity predicates. In NS the preterite is the 'zero tense' (Weinrich 1970:36). Simple forms of activity predicates relate these 'actions' as being successive to one another (one of Leech's criteria for "event predications" as opposed to "state predications", 1969:136). The students are, on the whole, capable of following the plot of a narrative using mainly simple preterite tense forms.

3.4.3 Non-agentive activity predicates do not pose any problem in the students' compositions with regard to the erroneous use of the EF. All the instances of EFs with 'ambient' predicates (Chafe 1970:101f) that occurred in their written work were accepted by native speakers. However, the SF was preferred by most of them, the reasons being discursive speech situation and 'habitual' interpretation:

(1.15) I would buy a car. A car is comfortable. If it is raining ( $\Rightarrow$  it rains) I can't were ( $\Rightarrow$  become) dirty and wet (DS/FE, Car).

(1.16) When I drive a motor cycle I have a feeling to have many power. But it is very bad when it is raining and it is very bad when it is snowing (DS/FE, Car).

(1.16a) When I ride a motor bike I have a feeling of great power. ... when it {rains  
is raining} ... when it {snows  
is snowing} .

Again, the learners' 'preference' is given to the EF, the form that is 'less favoured' by native speakers in these contexts. This further instance of 'over-compensation' is probably due to the excessive and almost stereotyped use of 'ambient' predicates in exercises on the EF: It is raining just now vs. It rains a lot in England. 'Ambient' predicates like rain and snow just as agentive predicates stand for 'concrete actions' which can be easily contextualized. We also need studies of these 'sources' of errors, here the 'over-indulgence', I would assume, on the part of textbook writers and teachers in the excessive use of a limited number of lexemes employed for structural drills.

Another reason for the high frequency of correctly selected EFs with non-agentive activity predicates is<sup>s</sup> the presence of EFs in one of the poems on which the students were asked to give an interpretation:

(1.17) Nice in this poem is also that the poet can so write poems ( $\Rightarrow$  the nice thing in this poem is that the poet can write poems in a way) that you feel how the ships are dipping and butting through the sea (DS/GE, Poem).

The 'action' is depicted as being in progress at a point of reference implied by the discourse which also rules out the 'habitual' reading.

3.4.4 The 'balanced uncertainty' which was observed with agentive activity predicates, and which was identified as being closely related to 'over-compensation', can also be found with state predicates which usually allow 'expansion' of the predicate (see Table 12 in § 3.4.1). Some students choose correctly the simple present tense form with 'extensive' state predicates like live (see § 5.5.1.1) where the context requires the expression of an 'unrestrictive state':

(1.18) Why should a woman not work? Perhaps she has no children, and she lives with her husband in a not so large apartment (DS/FE, Woman).

(1.19) It is different if you live in a little town or a great ( $\Rightarrow$  large) town, because in a little town some things are often cheaper than ... (DS/FE, Money).

Other pupils select, inappropriately, the EF where the notion of an 'unrestrictive state' would have to be encoded by a SF. The ratio for correctly and incorrectly used SFs and EFs with live is 5 : 1, or 35 : 7 examples:

(1.20)\* In former times there was no question about this theme. The woman was living for to marry (DS/FE, Woman).

(1.20a) ... The woman lived to get married ...

Both the linguistic and the pedagogic grammar will have to explain why (1.21) is acceptable while its 'minimal pair'



opposition (1.22) is not (see § 2.3.2.2 for the possible confusion in the students' mind with regard to the 'function' of the EF in general):

(1.21) Tom lives with his aunt. He is a little boy  
immensely loved by his aunt (NS/GE, Sawyer).

(1.22)\* Tom Sawyer is living by his old aunt called Aunt  
Polly. He is a boy with a good character (NS/GE,  
Sawyer).

(1.22a) T.S. lives with his old aunt ...

Obviously a number of students are not 'aware' of the semantic implications of the use of this form with 'extensive' predicates. If, for example, the writer does not want to denote a 'temporary' rather than a more 'permanent' or 'unrestrictive' state the EF is inappropriate in (1.23):

(1.23) In South America the owners of the **haziendas** give  
hashish to their workers. So they don't feel their  
misery. They are living ( $\Rightarrow$ live) like animals,  
without will (DS/FE, Pot).

3.4.5 A large percentage of the errors in this category (state predicates which take the EF more readily) is associated with 'verbs of posture' (sit, hang, lie, stand, etc) in contexts which require the simple present tense form in its 'habitual' or 'unrestrictive' use. In denoting 'actual present' both agentive activity predicates and 'verbs of posture' with 'moveable subjects' (see § 5.5.3.3) demand the EF. The errors are therefore again due to overgeneralization of this latter use:

(1.24)\* You can find a kitchen in every house. A kitchen  
table, chairs, a fridge and the most important





thing, the fire-place are standing in the kitchen  
(DS/FE, Woman).

(1.24a) ... the stove stands in the kitchen.

(1.25)\* This ( $\Rightarrow$  these)men say a woman's place is in the  
kitchen. But they are not living in young generation.  
A woman must die if she is standing in kitchen ever  
and ever (DS/FE, Woman).

(1.25a) ... But they are not moving with the times. A woman  
{ would die if she stood }  
{ will die if she stands } in the kitchen for ever  
(and ever).

These errors contrast with the correct use of SFs in utterances  
involving a 'habitual' or 'unrestrictive state' interpretation:

(1.26) and (1.27). The overall ratio for appropriately and  
inappropriately selected EFs or SFs with 'verbs of posture' is  
about 2 : 1 (or 42 : 20 examples). This constitutes a very high  
error quotient and points to a serious learning problem with this  
further instance of 'over-compensation'.

(1.26) I know that you had not written a letter because  
you sit every morning in front of me ( $\Rightarrow$  in front  
of me every morning) (NS/GE, Holmes).

(1.27) I don't know why men and women sit in a terrible  
little car or on a dangerous motorcyle (DS/FE, Car).

It will also have to be explained why 'verbs of posture' with  
'immoveable subjects' usually take the SF:

(1.28) The old part of Berlin is in East-Berlin. But  
in West-Berlin lies Spandau. In old times  
Spandau and Berlin were different ( $\Rightarrow$  separate)  
(DS/FE, Letter).

(1.28a) ...Spandau lies in West-Berlin ...

Some students use an ill-formed structure with the locative adverbial in thematic position:

(1.29)	*	adverb (loc)	+ verb of posture (EF)	+ {def indef} NP
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(1.30)\* There are many seeings ( $\Rightarrow$  sights). The most important attraction is... Between this buildings are standing old houses (DS/FE, Capital).

(1.30a) ... There are old houses between these buildings ...

(1.31)\* They came in the room of their master and saw him sitting after the table. On the table were lying four books and before each book a crown-piece (NS/R, Present).

(1.31a) They entered their master's room and saw him sitting behind the table. { There were four books } on the { Four books lay } table and in front of each a crown-piece.

The two types of error dealt with so far would seem to be due to the simultaneous operation of both  $L_1$  interference (which would account for the wrong word order, cf. the G rendering of (1.30): Zwischen diesen Gebäuden stehen alte Häuser) and overgeneralization within the  $L_2$  system (which would account for the inappropriate use of the EF here). With some students the error type exemplified by the pattern of (1.29) leads to massive 'clustering' of incorrectly selected EFs:

(1.32)\* In the chamber of the House of Commons are sitting three parties. In the middle of the chamber near the door is the Speaker's chair. Before the Speaker's chair are sitting the Government. On the right side of the Speaker is the Government party and on the

other side is the Opposition. Both parties are sitting on rows of benches. Over the Speaker's chair is hanging a clock at the wall. In the pause the members of the parties are meeting in the drawing room (DS/GE, Commons).

- (1.32a) Three parties sit in the chamber of the H. of C. The Sp's chair is near the door in the middle of the chamber. The Government sit in front of the Sp's chair. The Government is on the right hand side of the Sp. and the Opposition is on the other side. A clock hangs on the wall above the Sp's chair. In the pause the M.P.s meet in the drawing room.

The next utterance points to another source of error in this area:

- (1.33)\* When he gave the letter to the woman she said: 'Oh, that is nice, but it is not standing something in it' (NS/R, Post).

(1.33a) ... aber es steht nichts drin.

(1.33b) ... but {there is nothing in it  
it has nothing but black paper in it} .

Again the two 'mechanisms' operate simultaneously. This is not the place to take up Lyons' hypothesis (1968:390) that existential and locative sentences (There is no water on the moon vs. There is a car on the road) are to be assigned the same analysis in terms of deep structure. Existential sentences could then be treated as 'indefinite locatives' (Lyons). The connexion between the two is underlined in E by the use of the same 'deictic adverb', the existential or expletive there. In G, on the other hand, the two types of sentences are frequently distinguished by formal means:

es gibt<sup>1</sup> vs. es liegen/stehten ... (ie, 'verbs of posture'). This interlingual difference then accounts, at least partially, for (1.33). There are, however, more immediate structural transfers of this use of 'verbs of posture' in G into E:

- (1.34) When they had given him their best wishes he said to them: 'On this table lie four Bibles and at every Bible lie five shillings. You can choice ...'. He opened the book, and in the book lay a five-pound note (NS/R, Present).

These verbs can be used in E too. These sentences are, however, not the 'normal' translation equivalent: see (1.36). This is usually the expletive construction:

- (1.34a) Auf dem Tisch liegen vier Bibeln und vor jeder Bibel liegen fünf Shillinge ...  
(1.34b) There are four Bibles on this table and in front of each Bible there are five shillings ...

Thus some students (7 examples) generate structure (1.35) in order to express 'locative sentences':

- (1.35) 

adverb (loc)	+ verb of posture (SF)	+ indef. NP
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The students should be 'encouraged' not to use this construction too frequently. It is a stylistic variation, namely in order to emphasize the particular position an object is in. The verbs then denote semantic components 'of their own':

- (1.36) Yelling, a shot, silence ... She rushed to the door. On the doorstep lay a man - covered in blood.

In sentences like An der Wand hängt ein Bild the selection of the

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1. Notice the seven occurrences of the error type \* it gives as the encoding of the 'existential operator' (cf. Bach 1968:106, Allan 1971).

verb is largely determined by the respective Locative and Objective case elements.<sup>1</sup> No particular 'communicative effect', as in (1.36), is realized.

The inter - and intralingual contrasts as regards the encoding of locative sentences create further problems when the students' preference for 'verbs of posture' and the existential there - construction 'meet' in their production. Sentences with an indefinite NP in conjunction with a 'verb of posture' and the expletive there are accepted by native speakers (4 examples):

(1.37) I stopped my car. There stood a great house  
at the end of the street (NS/FE, Dream).

(1.38) At the entrance there stood a steward. The man  
said to him ... (NS/R, Thrown off).

These sentences occur occasionally in narratives, particularly in fairy tales:

(1.39) On the top of this hill there stood a splendid  
castle in which there lived a knight so brave  
that ...

The 'usual' translation equivalent is the expletive construction. 'Verbs of posture' are also possible here, either in the SF or EF depending on the 'moveability' of the referent of the NP (see § 5.5.3.3):

(1.37a) {There was a large house}  
{A large house stood} at the end of the street.

(1.38a) {There was a steward}  
{A steward was standing} at the entrance.

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1. The reference is to Fillmore's case elements (1968).

Modifying subject NPs by the definite article (12 examples) results in sentences which are generally unacceptable without the appropriate context,<sup>1</sup> both with 'verbs of posture' and be as the finite verb:

(1.41)\* On the balcony there sit the journalists and visitors. In the middle there stands the Speaker's chair. Right of the Speaker there are the benches of the Government party. On the other side there sits the Opposition. Behind the Speaker's chair there is the Smoking Room, where the members can discuss a problem (DS/GE, Commons).

(1.41a) The journalists and visitors sit on the balcony. The Sp's chair is in the middle. The benches of the Gov. are on the right hand side to the Sp.. The Opp. sit on the other side. The Smoking Room is behind the Sp's chair.

In another three cases the 'verb of posture' 'merges' with the existential there and the EF, ie, two forms 'idiosyncratic' to the TL, thus constituting a further instance of 'over-compensation':

(1.42)\* On the left side there are sitting the members of the Government (DS/GE, Commons).

- 
1. In the following existential sentence the subject NP is modified by the definite article without yielding an ill-formed structure:  
(1.40) There are many things which concern the pupils. There is the question if pupils should go to school on Saturdays (DS/FE, School).

(1.40a) There is the question of whether pupils should go to school ...

The second sentence 'identifies' one of the problems by means of the definite article and a subsequent dependent clause. Now the hearer can identify this specific problem, relevant to the speaker, too.



(1.42a) The members of the Gov. sit on the left hand side.

(1.43)\* On the line there were standing thousands of people (NS/R, Railway).

(1.43a) Thousands of people  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{stood/were standing} \\ \text{were lined up} \end{array} \right\}$  all along the line.

Whereas structure (1.44):

(1.44)	*	adverb (loc)	+ there <sub>ex</sub>	+ verb of posture (EF)	+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{indef.} \\ \text{def.} \end{array} \right\}$ NP
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is deviant, the occurrence of the indefinite NP between the finite and the non-finite verbal elements is not deviant (no example in the CC):

(1.45) There were a lot of people sitting in the room.

A possible paraphrase is: 'an X who (which) ...'. Cf. also:

(1.46) There are so many people  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{taking} \\ \text{who take} \end{array} \right\}$  pot (DS/FE, Pot).

3.4.6 There are 10 instances in the CC where the EF is used, erroneously, with state predicates which in general do not take the EF easily:

(1.47)\* Both parties are sitting on rows of benches. From one side to the other a passage is extending (DS/GE, Commons).

(1.47a) Both parties sit on rows of benches. A passage extends from one side to the other.

Even within this group of state predicates the resistance to expansion is not the same for all predicates. Some of them, eg, 'verbs of perception/emotion', take the EF more easily than others, eg, 'verbs of having and being'. - It will have to be explained what the conditions are under which these predicates occur in the EF. It

may be noted that there is not one example in the CC in which a state predicate of this category in the EF is used correctly. Nor is there any instance of a SF of these predicates which 'should be' an EF. Admittedly, these cases are rather rare. We can however assume that the students are not aware yet of the semantic principle which governs the selection of the EF with these state predicates. This will have to be elicited. The students will probably not accept the EF with these predicates which, if the hypothesis turns out to be true, has most likely as its 'source' the 'rule' given in pedagogic grammars that these 'verbs' 'never' or 'hardly ever' take the EF (see § 6.1). Nothing is generally said about when it can be employed. Hornby's list (1962:117ff) covers only the co-occurrence with always (see § 5.6.4 for the so-called 'evaluative force' of the EF) and homonyms, ie, where the 'verb' in the EF is an entirely different lexeme: eg, THINK<sub>1</sub> vs. THINK<sub>2</sub>, or 'inert cognition' vs. 'mental activity' (see § 5.5.8).

3.4.7 'Transitional event predicates' show a similar distribution in relation to the appropriateness of the two forms as 'state predicates'. It will have to be explained why the EF is inappropriate in a context in which the transition into a new state is understood as having already come about. Thus the EF is unacceptable with the predicate discover when the referent of the subject 'knows' the existence of an escape route:

- (1.48)\* In the cave, when the children are alone, Tom tries to be a man and he cares for Betty. After three days Tom is discovering a hole. Now he is happy again (NS/GE, Sawyer).

(1.48a) ...After three days Tom discovers a hole.

'Transitional event predicates' have different semantic implications depending on whether the SF or EF is selected. Predicates like die, leave, lose, arrive, stop etc, do not denote 'activities'. Neither do such predicates as get older, grow silent, become lean etc, denote actions. Yet the latter ones have different syntactic (and semantic) properties in relation to the EF in that they can often take either form (notice the overall low frequency of errors with these 'inchoative' process predicates ):

(1.49) I think if ( $\Rightarrow$  when) the child  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gets} \\ \text{is getting} \end{array} \right\}$  older  
Father X has to give him or her more money (DS/FE,  
Money).

Or at the beginning of a 'retold':

(1.50) The express train  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gathered} \\ \text{was gathering} \end{array} \right\}$  speed after  
leaving New York. It was the first night and a  
big man called for the negro attendant (NS/R,  
Thrown off).

3.4.8 The number of errors increases significantly with the last type of predicate distinguished here, the 'accomplishments'. This observation, together with the rate of error witnessed with 'agentive activity' and 'variable state predicates', runs counter to the claim made by Leech (1971:19) that "most difficulties over the use of the Progressive Aspect arise with classes of verbs which are NORMALLY INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROGRESSIVE". For the written production of G learners of E, at least, this is not the case. It is something in the semantic structure of 'accomplishment predicates' that makes them 'prone' to errors with the EF or SF: if, eg, Tom Sawyer actually 'achieves' his aim of making other boys

paint the fence for him the EF is inappropriate in (1.51):

(1.51)\* Tom knows how to seize ( $\Rightarrow$  persuade) the other boys. While his conversation he is convincing the boys what an honour it is to whitewash a fence (NS/GE, Sawyer).

(1.51a) ... During his conversation Tom convinces the  
boys ...

On the other hand, students frequently use the SF, which implies with these predicates that a certain 'goal' has been 'accomplished', in contexts which do not permit the interpretation that the said goal has been reached:

(1.52)\* Mr Huskisson, a member of the parliament, went to the railway<sup>1</sup> to shake hands. He wanted to see the Duke of W., Sir R. P. and other great statesmen. But suddenly the locomotive from the other side came, for Mr H. a fatal moment (NS/R, Railway).

However, Mr H. is run over by the locomotive and never gets to the state carriage. Hence we have to reconstruct as follows:

(1.52a) Mr H., an M.P., { was going towards the railway }  
          { wanted/intended  
to shake hands with the Duke of W. ... But  
suddenly another locomotive approached from the

1. The acceptability depends on the interpretation of the preposition to which is, in fact, ambiguous. It can also denote the idea of 'directed movement' (= 'towards'). In the reading of 'Mr H. went towards the railway' the utterance would be acceptable since this implies 'non-accomplishment'. I doubt, however, that the student has this interpretation 'available' in his IL competence, hence the asterisk.

other side, a fatal moment for Mr H.

In other contexts the EF is used correctly. Notice the reading of 'be on the way to(wards)' in the next example:

- (1.53) It was in the evening when the express train left New York. The train was running ( $\Rightarrow$  was going) to Chicago. After a while a big man left the cabin. He called for the attendant (NS/R, Thrown off).

An interesting type of error occurs when an 'accomplishment predicate' is embedded into a matrix sentence containing a 'verb of perception' (see §5.5.6.3). In all 5 cases at hand the students use the EF with the embedded predicate although it is apparent from the context that the 'goal' has been accomplished:

- (1.54)\* His friend S.C. told him the following story:  
'I took a walk and during this I saw the postman going to the cottage of a poor woman. The woman could not pay for the letter. So I paid it myself ... (NS/R, Post).

The fact that the woman could not pay for the letter presupposes that the postman must have arrived at the cottage, hence:

- (1.54a) ... I was taking a walk when I saw the postman go to the cottage of a poor woman ...

Similarly in the next utterance: at the point of reference implied by the matrix verb see the 'goal' implicit in the 'accomplishment' kill, namely be dead, is 'reached':

- (1.55)\* And here is the reason for their fear: they see Injun Joe who is killing Dr. Robinson. He tries everything to make everybody believe that Potter is the murderer. So Potter is taken prisoner (NS/GE, Sawyer).



(1.55a) ... They see Injun Joe kill Dr. Robinson ...

### 3.4.3 Summary:

- i) The rate of SF and EF-errors is highest with 'agentive activity', 'variable state' and 'accomplishment predicates',
- ii) with the three types of predicates mentioned in (i) we observe an even distribution of appropriately and inappropriately used EFs. This 'balanced uncertainty' (or 'quer<sup>y</sup>ing' ) as regards the appropriate selection of the EF with these predicates can be taken to indicate that these learners do not 'know' the rules for using the EF. Both their successes and failures are either 'random' or the expression of an 'idiosyncratic system/rule' that is not readily apparent and can only be detected by following up in depth the language of individual learners,
- iii) most of the errors with 'activity' and progressive state predicates' are due to the students' unawareness that 'habitually' interpreted states of affairs have to be encoded by simple tense forms,
- iv) they are also not sufficiently aware of the different semantic implications which SF and EF have with 'transitional event' and 'accomplishment predicates',
- v) 'state predicates' which are usually incompatible with the EF do not constitute the greatest learning problem for the group of learners under investigation.



### 3.5 Difficulties arising with related events

3.5.1 A serious learning problem as regards the use of the two forms arises when two events are related, eg:

(1.56)\* While Sir Henry spent some days in the Highlands he met a shepherd who had a very beautiful and intelligent collie (NS/R, Dog).

(1.56a) While Sir Henry was spending some days in the Highlands he met a shepherd who ...

This (compound) 'situation type' has been described by Jespersen (1924:278f) as the 'temporal frame': "The EF makes us think of the time-limits, within which something happens". One student actually spells this notion out in a rather cumbersome fashion:

(1.57)\* A car came and went over my dog. I cried very loud, and during my crie I awaked (NS/FE, Dream).

(1.57a) A car ran over my dog. I cried very loudly, and while I was crying I awoke.

Errors with the 'temporal frame' or 'incidence', ('Inzidenzschema' see §5.7.3) as it was called by Pollak (1960:129ff), are very frequent in the learners' compositions: the ratio between the correctly used EF and the incorrectly used SF for denoting the 'frame action' is 1 : 25 (or 8 : 20 examples). The erroneous selection of the SF in the 'incidence pattern' outweighs considerably the use of the EF which is obligatory in this context. 'Incidence' can be realized not only within the complex sentence as in (1.56a) or (1.58):

(1.58) On the third day, just when Sir Henry was leaving the hotel the shepherd brought the

collie. He got 60 pounds but he was not happy. Then Sir Henry leaved ( $\Rightarrow$  left) Scotland (NS/R, Dog).

but also beyond the sentence boundary. Notice the appropriate use of the EF with the 'activity predicate' whine which serves as the 'frame action' to the 'incident action' come to the station:

- (1.59) Three days later the Highlander came to the railway station with his collie. Both dog and master looked miserable. The dog was whining because he was in great affection to ( $\Rightarrow$  full of affection for) his master. So the Highlander said ... (NS/R, Dog).

This particular instance may be a 'random success' ('right by chance'), in the majority of cases we observe the wrong use of the SF for the 'frame action':

- (1.60)\* One day a friend of Rowland Hill took a walk. At a cottage he stopped because he saw the postman who ... (NS/R, Post).
- (1.60a) ... R.H. was taking a walk. At a cottage he stopped because ...

The occurrence of two SFs in a complex sentence containing an adverbial when-clause is usually understood as denoting 'successive events':

- (1.61) Coleridge was very sorry and so he paid for the letter. When he gave the letter to the woman she said ... (NS/R, Post).

Similarly, simple preterite tense forms of 'event predicates'

conjoined by and denote temporal succession and not simultaneity (see §§ 5.7.1 and 5.7.2).

3.5.2 The latter notion is usually indicated by EFs in these contexts. Hence EFs are inappropriate in narrative texts in which the temporal successivity of individual events is to be expressed:

(1.62)\* But Tom is also a little childlike ( $\Rightarrow$  childish).  
There is a new girl in the ( $\emptyset$ ) town called Becky Fletcher. Tom is coming the street along, seeing her. At once he is trying to pleasure her. Some time later he balances a straw on his nose and hopes that Becky see ( $\Rightarrow$  will see) it (NS/GE, Sawyer).

(1.62a) ... Tom comes along the street and sees her. At once he tries to please her ...

This particular student uses EF-clusters of this kind every time he opens a new paragraph (four times in the essay), ie, every time he narrates another major incident from the novel. This is probably due to the over-use of the 'scene-setting' idea, which is widely associated and taught in pedagogic grammars as regards the use of the EF in actual 'texts' or continuous discourse. Blunt statements like the ones found in Weinrich (1970, 1971) and Dressler (1972) with respect to this 'background function'<sup>1</sup> of the EF do not seem to be justified. They have to be qualified (see §§ 4.1 and 5.7.4.2). Having analyzed several contemporary novels and having collected native speakers' reactions to the

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1. This use of the EF was suggested as one of its major 'functions' by Jespersen (1931:182). To Jespersen this is a derivative of the idea of 'time frame' which he considers the essential function of the EF.

students' compositions I found that there is a great deal of 'stylistic variation' between native speakers of E as regards the choice of the EF as a 'scene-setting' device. Many, if not most, 'prefer' a 'brisker' style drawing upon SFs rather than EFs for the opening of a narrative, 'even' before embarking upon the actual 'plot' of the narrative:

(1.63) One year after the Battle of Waterloo a man named Francis Ronalds {did  
was doing} experiments with sending messages by wire. At home in his garden he had a wire of eight miles. With this ... (NS/R, Cable).

(1.64) There was a knight in England named Sir Foulk. He was a brave man. But he had one mistake: he was a boaster. One day he {feasted  
was feasting} with other knights in his castle. And after dinner he told one of his deeds ... (NS/R, Knight).

Notice the 'stylistic' intricacies involved in the next stretch of discourse in which the first occurrence of the 'activity predicate' feast is read in its 'habitual use', whereas the second one is part of the introduction of the actual 'plot' of the narrative. This renders the utterance more amenable to 'scene-setting', and the EF is accepted more readily by native speakers:

(1.65) This knight names Sir Foulk has done very many brave deeds. When he feasts with other knights in his castle he tells them his deeds because he is a boaster. One evening he {is feasting  
feasts} with many other knights in his castle. He tells again about his deeds. By the end of his story the guests say ... (NS/R, Knight).

We may further notice the intricate interplay of simultaneous and successive events in the following discourse calling for EFs or SFs respectively. These notions may be of more help to students than the rather vague idea of 'scene-setting':

(1.66)\* I was unhappy when I lost my dog. Last night I dreamed that I would play with my dog in our garden. He carried a ball in his mouth and I tried to take it away. Suddenly he sprang over door or the garden and rushed over ( $\Rightarrow$  across) the street. I followed him very quickly. Suddenly a car came and went ( $\Rightarrow$  ran) over my dog (NS/FE, Dream).

(1.66a) ... Last night I dreamt that I was playing with my dog in our garden. He was holding a ball in his mouth, and I was trying to take it away from him. Suddenly he sprang over the garden door ...

In complex sentences 'simultaneity' is usually expressed by the conjunctions as, while or when, the former two being used primarily with event predicates, the latter only if at least one state predicate is present (otherwise these sentences are understood as denoting 'succession'). With as and while either SF or EF can be selected:

(1.67) The one ship sailed from Valentia over the Atlantic and the other from Newfoundland. When they sailed they ran over the thick cable (NS/R, Cable).

(1.67a) While/as they  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sailed} \\ \text{were sailing} \end{array} \right\}$  along they let out/paid out the cable.

### 3.5.3 Summary:

- i) If two or more events are related in some way the students encounter difficulties in using the two forms

for rendering correctly such notions like 'incidence',  
'simultaneity' and 'succession',

- ii) the 'temporal frame' or 'incidence pattern' poses the most serious problem: the erroneous selection of the SF in denoting the 'background action' is more frequent than the correct choice of the EF.

4. The descriptive framework: clasifying propositions with  
regard to their temporal-aspectual properties

4.1 Other studies of the Expanded Form

4.1.1 The literature on the EF (cf. also the surveys in Allen 1966:28-80 and Nickel 1966) is characterized by a bewildering divergence of opinions, both with authors who postulate an 'essential' or 'central function' and those who distinguish often numerous 'secondary functions':<sup>1</sup>

- a) 'duration': Curme 1913, 1931, Poutsma 1926, Palmer 1965,  
Leech 1969,
- b) 'continuation': Curme 1931, Leech 1969,
- c) 'progression': Curme 1935, Kruisinga 1931, Kruisinga &  
Erades 1953 8th ed., Zandvoort 1972 6th  
ed., Anderson 1973, Chafe 1970, Nehls 1974,
- d) 'limited duration': Kruisinga & Erades 1953, Dietrich 1955,  
Twaddell 1963, Joos 1964, Palmer 1965,  
Leech 1969, 1971, Chafe 1970, Anderson  
1973,
- e) 'validity of the predication': Joos 1964,

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1. The 'prospective function', ie, the use of the EF to refer to the future, is not considered in this study.



- f) 'zeitweiliges Merkmal an einer beharrenden Substanz':  
Schopf 1969,
- g) 'action' vs. 'fact': Bodelsen 1964, Hatcher 1951, Dietrich  
1955,
- h) 'process': Ota 1963, Lee 1969,
- i) 'mere occurrence': Calver 1946,
- j) 'incompleteness': Sweet 1898, Curme 1913, 1935, Kruisinga  
1931, Hill 1958,
- k) 'imperfective aspect': Macaulay 1971, Nehls 1974,
- l) 'temporal frame/relative duration': Sweet 1898, Jespersen  
1924, Pollak 1960,
- m) 'simultaneity': Brusendorff 1930,
- n) 'descriptive/relieving': Sweet 1898, Poutsma 1926, Kruisinga  
& Erades 1953, Zandvoort 1972,
- o) 'background': Jespersen 1931, Joos 1964, Weinrich 1970, 1971,  
Dressler 1972,
- p) 'characterizing': Poutsma 1926,
- q) 'qualitative': Poutsma 1926,
- r) 'emotional force': Deutschbein 1917, van der Laan 1922,  
Jespersen 1924, Dietrich 1955, Charleston  
1960,
- s) 'filtre d'un enonciateur': Adamczewski 1972.

This list does not claim to be exhaustive. Ota's apt criticism (1963:1) of this situation is still valid: it

"... largely stems from the nebulous, subjective interpretations of situational contexts, or worse, from some philosophical or logical reasoning divorced from linguistic correlations".

4.1.2 To facilitate the subsequent reading I will state the position I have arrived at already at this point, before embarking upon a discussion of various studies of the EF in particular and 'aspect' in general:

The EF is considered the surface realization of 'progressive aktionsart', where 'aktionsart' is understood in the sense of 'phasenaktionsart' only (see § 4.6). Presupposing a variable property of a given subject argument for its use the EF is then considered the predication of the 'existential location' of a 'situation', ie, a 'situation' being 'in existence' at or around a particular point of reference. 'Situations' are extralinguistic states of affairs which may or may not be temporally structured: events/processes vs. states. Situations are denoted by 'propositions', or in other words: propositions are "the logico-linguistic correlates of situation types" (Jessen 1974: § 5.3.1). By using the EF the situation denoted by the basic proposition is understood as being either overtly observable as proceeding or thought of in the 'mind' of the speaker as being in progress (events/processes) or obtaining (states) at or around a specific point of reference or within a limited period of time. Progressive aktionsart and situation type interact in that the 'function' of the EF (= 'meaning' of a 'grammatical morpheme') is logically significant (primarily) with 'bounded/telic' events. The latter are understood as 'covering' or 'occupying' a temporally bounded stretch on the time axis for their realization, in that they either imply the attainment of a goal for their realization or are conceptualized as 'momentary'. The use of the EF renders these bounded events 'unbounded' or 'atelic', with particular interpretations depending on the 'durative' or 'momentary' nature of the originally bounded event. With some situation types

the use of the EF is obligatory, with others the SF has to be used. Others permit either form (the use of the EF is optional). It is suggested that it is at the level of sentence that the various verbal and nominal categories (having surface realizations of subject, direct/indirect object, directional prepositional phrases), in conjunction with the presence or absence of the EF, durational adverbials and negation)<sup>2</sup> constitute the category of 'aspect': 'perfective' - 'imperfective'. 'Aspect' is considered as much a semantic as a syntactic phenomenon. It will be defined as "the linguistic reflex of the existential status of the situation characterized by the basic proposition" (Jessen 1974: § 5.3.1). Although progressive aktionsart and imperfective aspect are closely related the two should be kept apart, since, at least in languages like English and German, the two aspects would appear to be of a "compositional nature" (Verkuyl 1972), ie, 'configurations' at the sentence level depending on the semantic properties of lower level categories. The probably more dominant traditional view of considering aspect a grammatical category of the verb only (as opposed to the semantic or 'conceptual' view of aspect which was also held by some traditional scholars) should be abandoned. Thus the basic classification is a three-fold one:

- i) situation type (as denoted by the basic proposition);  
see § 4.5,
- ii) aktionsart; see § 4.6,
- iii) aspect; see § 4.7.

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1. Modals probably also have a bearing on aspectual matters. They are, however, not dealt with to any great extent in this study.

The three categories are, of course, closely related and inter-dependent: "... what relates all of these three categories is the notion of existence as applied to situation" (Jessen 1974: § 6.4). The perfective - imperfective distinction is then essentially one of distinguishing between 'bounded' and 'unbounded' events. From this follow such characterizations as 'seeing an event as a whole/in its entirety' (especially with regard to the use of the SF), on the one hand, and 'incompleteness' of an event on the other (with respect to the EF).

In Joos' words we may wish to express this underlying semantic/conceptual principle in terms of a 'situation' being 'true' at and around a point of reference. Cf. also König & Lutzeier (1973) for a development of Joos' (1964) and Schopf's (1969) notions: see § 4.1.8. Our characterization of the aspects would also seem to be compatible with Heger's treatment of the aspects, if I understand him correctly. Heger sees the aspects entirely as 'conceptual categories' ('begriffliche Kategorien'). Since this is particularly pertinent to the present discussion I will quote his position more extensively:

"Die sich aus der bisherigen systematischen Eingrenzung ergebende fundamentale Opposition, auf die alle temporal-deiktischen Begriffskategorien zurückzuführen sein werden, ist diejenige von „jetzt" und „nicht-jetzt". Wenn nun der Sprechende einen durch ein Verb definitiv fixierten Vorgang auch temporal-deiktisch bestimmen will, kann er dies auf zweierlei Weise tun. Entweder wird er die Opposition von „jetzt" und „nicht-jetzt" auf sich selbst beziehen, wobei aus dem „jetzt" seine Gegenwart und aus dem „nicht-jetzt" seine Nicht-Gegenwart werden. Diese Kategorien

bezeichnen wir als Zeitstufen. Oder aber, im anderen Fall, bezieht er die fundamentale Opposition auf den ausgesagten Vorgang. Das „jetzt“ wird dabei zum „jetzt“ des Vorgangs, der somit von innen her, das heisst von einem sich innerhalb seines Ablaufs befindenden Bezugspunkt aus dargestellt wird, und entsprechend führt das „nicht-jetzt“ zu einer Darstellung des Vorgangs von einem Bezugspunkt aus, der sich ausserhalb seines Ablaufs befindet. Diese Kategorien bezeichnen wir als Aspekte, und zur Benennung der in ihnen gegebenen fundamentalen Opposition benutzen wir die Termini imperfektiv und perfektiv“ (Heger 1963:22f).

The following questions will figure prominently in the subsequent discussion:

- i) Has the research on the EF over the last 70 years moved into a direction that makes a 'unified' definition of its 'basic function' possible?
- ii) Are there indeed certain 'verb classes' that can 'never' be found in the EF? Is it in fact the 'verb' or some other contextual configuration that will not accept expansion?
- iii) Are some of the 'functions' listed above really attributable to the EF as such, or are they based on the intricate interaction of various contextual elements at the level of predicate, clause, complex sentence or discourse?

4.1.3 Let us exemplify the off-handed and imprecise way of using the semantic notions listed above by concentrating upon the opinions of one traditional grammarian:

"The essential meaning of the progressiv form is duration and it never means anything else" (Curme 1913:172).



A few pages later, in a discussion of Onions' theory of the 'emotional force of the EF, Curme qualifies this statement:

"These progressiv forms here represent someone as having been engaged in doing something. There is always the idea of the unfinisht, incomplete, in the progressiv form unless the contrary is expressly stated elsewhere in the sentence or implied in the context" (Curme 1913:177).

In his 'Syntax' (1931:373) Curme sees the primary function of the EF in denoting 'durative aspect': "This type represents the action as continuing". A few years later he opts for 'progressive aspect': "... represents the action as progressing, proceeding, hence not ended" (Curme 1935:233).

Curme's 1913-statement arose out of a discussion of Sweet's position who claims:

"In Modern - as in Old - English the definite tenses (= EFs) always imply incompleteness ... They also always imply a certain duration ... But the expression of duration is not their primary function ... The characteristic of these tenses is that they use duration to define the time of a point-tense, as in when he came I was writing a letter" (Sweet 1898: 97; cf. also Sweet 1891:103).

This latter notion is then developed by Jespersen in his well-known theory of 'time-frame':

"The purport of the expanded tenses is not to express duration in itself, but relative duration, compared with the shorter time occupied by some other action" (Jespersen 1924:278).

Jespersen also points out that this 'temporal frame' is frequently understood "from the whole situation" (1931:180). Neither does he fail to observe the case of "co-extensive actions or states" (1931:189).



In a sweeping statement this idea of 'simultaneity' is then declared the 'root meaning' of the EF by Brusendorff (1930:229):

"... the expanded tenses do not indicate duration or continuity but practically always simultaneity or relativity"

Jespersen was more careful as regards his characterization of the 'essence' of the EF: "Yet it cannot be denied that there are applications which cannot easily be explained in this way" (1924:279). He mentions in this respect the 'emotional colouring' to which the use of an EF often gives rise with adverbials like always, ever, constantly, etc, an example being She's always harping on that string (Jespersen 1931:180f): see § 5.6.4. He also contrasts 'incomplete' and 'complete action' (1931:185, 192ff) which he considers a derivative of his central notion of 'relatively longer time'.

4.1.4 Sweet and Jespersen confine themselves to a short mention of the observation that "verbs denoting psychological states, feelings, etc, cannot as a rule be used in the expanded tenses" (Jespersen 1924:278). In Poutsma (1926) we find a long unordered list of examples which are then classified in some way in the subsequent overall grammars. To give but one classificatory system as an illustration that the statements made by the authors of these overall grammars, which are essentially pedagogic in aim and character, cannot be accepted as they stand. I refer to Kruisinga & Erades (1953:257):

"Some verbs do not occur in the progressive. We can distinguish:

- a) verbs expressing a state or condition that we do not associate with time at all: contain, resemble etc,
- b) verbs expressing states, feelings, or mental

attitudes that are (thought of as) permanent qualities or attributes: like etc,

c) verbs of a terminative character, that is such as express the final stage of an activity: reach, obtain, recognise etc,

d) verbs of a momentaneous character, that is such as denote an activity lasting only a very short time: slip, break etc."

Statements like these are empirically ill-founded, ie, observationally inadequate. They do not correspond to the data and are therefore particularly confusing and misleading for L<sub>2</sub> learners:

(2.1) Jimmy is more and more resembling his father.

(2.2) Are you liking the party?

(2.3) Mr Wilson is reaching a final decision on the question of an early election.

(2.4) The plank is breaking.

4.1.5 The 'time-frame' theory led Jespersen to postulate another derived 'function' of the EF which turned out to become more and more important in the subsequent discussion:

"It is a natural consequence of the use of the expanded tenses to form a time-frame round something else that they often denote a transistory as contrasted with a permanent state which for its expression requires the corresponding unexpanded tenses. The expanded form makes us think of the time-limits within which something happens, while the simple form indicates no time-limit" (Jespersen 1924:279).

Jespersen also refers to this contrast as 'actual' vs. 'habitual'<sup>1</sup>

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1. Sentences containing an EF can, however, also have a 'habitual' interpretation (see § 5.6.2).

(1931:186). The notion of a 'time-limit' features prominently in Kruisinga's treatment of the EF: it

"... generally expresses that the activity, occurrence, or state denoted by the verb is considered by the speaker as continuing for a limited time. This use is so important in English that there is a special name for the group: the progressive" (Kruisinga & Erades 1953:251).

This characterization is important and valuable in three respects (apart from its obvious shortcoming of talking about 'verbs' alone):

- i) it covers both 'activities' and 'occurrences' on the one side and 'states' on the other, within a 'general' definition of the function of the EF,<sup>1</sup>
- ii) the predicated 'activity', 'occurrence' or 'state' is 'temporally limited', ie, "limited in duration" (p.252),
- iii) it is the 'speaker's view' that matters. - Although I do not agree with their explanation of Your cap is lying in the passage vs. London lies on the Thames in that these states of affairs are "thought of" as limited in duration (see § 5.5.5 on 'variability' with 'verbs of posture'), there are certainly cases of the use of the EF where pragmatic presupposition, or more loosely, 'the speaker's view of things', has to be taken into account.

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1. Other authors have serious problems with 'explaining' the EF in state propositions like Your socks are lying on the floor (if they care to mention them at all), since their characterizations of the EF in terms of 'action' vs. 'fact' (Bodelsen 1964, Dietrich 1955), 'overt/developing activity' (Hatcher 1951), or 'process' (Ota 1963) are essentially dynamic concepts not applicable to state propositions.

4.1.6 It was Kruisinga who coined the term 'progressive'. This notion of 'ongoingness', as we may also wish to call it, has since then become perhaps the most common semantic 'label' for the EF. Probably the clearest treatment of 'ongoingness' is to be found in Ota (1963). He takes the position that there exists one 'essential meaning' of the EF, and he characterizes it as "an action in process" (Ota 1963:59). The idea of 'process' is further defined as follows:

"Process means that the action has already started, and that it is now moving toward a completion, but has not come to the completion yet. Thus process involves movement. It involves unceasing development of the action toward a completion.

Thus it is dynamic" (Ota 1963:59).

Via implication, various 'secondary meanings' derive from this definition:

- i) 'transitoriness or temporariness' (since "process means continual change"),
- ii) 'incompletion',
- iii) 'duration' ("because process needs a certain length of time to develop itself"),
- iv) 'continuation or constant progression',
- v) since processes are dynamic EFs "tend to add a flavour of vividness, emotion, or emphasis to the description",
- vi) 'simultaneity'.

The attractive thing about Ota's study is that he postulates a 'basic function' for the EF from which other 'derivative functions' proceed. It suffers from the neglect of the EF in state propositions (see § 4.1.5, footnote to page 78). This also applies to other authors who have used the idea of 'progression'. Notice the restriction to 'activities' or 'events' in the following quotes:

"... it usually denotes an action or activity as in progress"  
(Zandvoort 1972:37)

"Unless there is some further specification, the event or series of events is understood to be in progress at the time of reference" (Chafe 1970:175).

We may note here, in passing, Chafe's mentioning the 'point of reference' in connexion with the EF (see our characterization in § 4.1.2).

4.1.7 Kruisinga's concept of 'limited duration' figures prominently in Dietrich (1955: 'Zeitweiligkeit') and Twaddell (1963). Palmer (1965:101) considers it a very special 'use' of the EF which is only indirectly related to the 'basic use' of the EF as indicating "activity with duration" (p.61).<sup>1</sup> He accepts the idea of 'limited duration' solely for habitual activity in utterances like He is going to work by bus, where the contextually-bound implication would be something like 'he is only temporarily forced to take the bus'. In contrast Chafe holds the opinion that it is the inflectional unit 'progressive' (= EF) that produces the 'meaning' of limited duration. He distinguishes the use of the EF in its 'actual present' function (see § 5.3.2.1) from the 'habitual activity' function by assigning the feature  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ - \end{smallmatrix} \text{ generic} \right]$  to the verb:

non-generic: What is Bob doing just now? - He is singing.

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1. I am not at all happy about characterizations of the EF in terms of 'duration'. I would agree with Ota in considering it a 'derivative function' of 'ongoingness', which - again - applies only to certain predicates anyway. The EF has just the 'opposite effect' with 'extensive state propositions' like John is living in London which are understood as denoting a shorter stretch of time than John lives in London. 'Duration' can also be denoted by other means, eg: He talked and talked, He went on and on on the topic.



generic:<sup>1</sup> What is Bob doing these days? - He is singing.

Both cases provoke the idea that the 'activity' will eventually stop, an implication that is not present in Bob sings (= 'Bob is a singer'). Chafe concludes (1970:176): "The limitation must, then, be part of the meaning of progressive".

4.1.8 The theory of 'limited duration' has been developed by Joos (1964) in the following way: the EF basically denotes 'temporary aspect', where the term 'aspect' is admittedly used in a loose fashion (in the absence of any other satisfactory term: Joos), although it is not to be equated with 'aspect' in the Iberian or Slavonic languages:

"The temporary aspect does not necessarily signify anything about the nature of the event, which can be essentially progressive or static, continuous or interrupted, and so on; instead it signifies something about the validity of the predication, and specifically it says that the probability of its validity diminishes smoothly from a maximum of perfect validity, both ways into the past and the future towards perfect irrelevance or falsity" (Joos 1964:107f).

His theory in terms of the "probabilistic limitation in time" (= 'limitation of duration') then covers the use of the EF in state propositions involving, eg, 'verbs of posture', where a concept like 'progressive' would be "preposterous" (Joos). This account has three merits:

i) it sets up a 'general' semantic principle for the use

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1. Chafe's use of the term 'generic' is rather 'idiosyncratic': it should be restricted to statements which are 'universally timed', ie, those that are not located at any particular point of time or points within a period of time (see § 5.6.1).



of the EF covering both 'events' and 'states': the predicated state of affairs is said to be 'true' for a limited period of time,

ii) it does not talk about 'verbs' but 'predications'

(unfortunately the latter term is never explained),

iii) it makes a distinction between the 'nature of the event' and the 'meaning signified' solely by the EF.

This I would take to be an implicit reference to the kind of phenomena discussed by some older linguists: Jespersen (1924:286f) distinguishes the "ordinary meaning of the verb itself", especially the contrast between 'conclusive' and 'non-conclusive verbs', from various formal markers and 'contextual meanings'. Deut schbein (1939: 134) distinguishes 'Zeitcharakter', 'Aspekt' and 'Aktionsart'. These distinctions will be taken up in our discussion of 'proposition types', 'aspect' and 'aktionsarten' (see § 4.2.2).

A most valuable development of the theories of 'limited duration' and 'validity of the predication' is sketched out in Schopf (1969).<sup>1</sup> Observing that there is indeed something redundant about the idea of 'limited duration' in that almost all states of affairs are 'temporally limited' anyhow (apart from those referred to by generic utterances: see § 5.6.1) he attempts to capture this notion in more precise terms:

"... indem wir sagen, dass die Verwendung der erweiterten Form die Aussage eines zeitweiligen Merkmals an einer beharrenden Substanz, die Prädikation eines variablen Merkmals

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1. Unfortunately I never had access to Schopf's book referred to in Nehls 1974 ('Untersuchungen zur Wechselbeziehung zwischen Grammatik und Lexik im Englischen').

also, voraussetzt" (Schopf 1969:30).

One of his main aims is to show the close interaction between the choice of the EF with certain predicates (in the 1969 paper he deals exclusively with the state predicates which are usually said to be incompatible with the EF) and the internal structure of the 'lexical fields' constituted by the predicates under investigation. This kind of analysis of the mutual interpretation of grammar and lexis would seem to prove itself most useful in the study of 'aspectual' matters. It would, however, have to be supplemented by an analysis of the 'dependent arguments', or in surface structure terms, the 'character' of the subject, the direct/indirect object, prepositional phrases etc. Although Schopf does not state it in these terms I would assert that the 'predication of a variable property of a given subject argument' is, frequently, a matter of pragmatic presupposition depending on "the relation between the utterance of a sentence and the context in which it is uttered" (Keenan 1971: 49). This is probably what Kruisinga & Erades had in mind when they talked about "as thought of by the speaker" as one of the conditions for the use of the EF (for examples see § 5.5.5 - § 5.5.9).

Schopf sets up a second condition for the use of the EF:

"... dass der Sprecher dem prädizierten Sachverhalt in Beobachtungshaltung gegenübersteht, was ja die Voraussetzung dafür ist, dass ein Vorgang z.B. in seinem Prozesscharakter und nicht bloss als Tatsache aufgefasst wird" (Schopf 1969:30).

This is an improvement over the characterizations of the EF by Bodelsen and Hatcher in terms of 'overtly observable or developing action'. This modification is particularly necessary for an account of expanded verb forms of state predicates, such as 'verbs of

perception/emotion/cognition', which are usually said to be incompatible with the EF. Notice also that the situations denoted by state propositions of this kind are not directly observable by the hearer/speaker. Hence the label 'private verbs' once suggested by Joos (1964:116, here however replaced by the term 'status verb'). Here we are again in the sphere of pragmatics. It will have become apparent by now that a lot of the 'confusion' associated with the discussion of the EF, and most of the 'meanings' listed above in § 4.1.1, can be attributed to a failure in the distinction between 'sentence' and 'utterance', ie, 'linguistic semantics' and pragmatics or discourse. This is not to deny the importance of pragmatic factors. A pedagogically oriented study cannot afford to neglect the context of utterances. But blurring this distinction has certainly impeded the precise semantic characterization of this form and the various 'uses' to which it can be put in actual discourse.

4.1.9 This is also valid for certain 'mentalistic' descriptions of the EF with respect to its so-called 'emotional force'. Apart from a variety of functions already discussed in this survey Deutschbein (1917, 1939) recognizes an 'intensive aspect' which expresses particularly "die logischen Gefühle der Zustimmung, Bekräftigung, des Widerspruchs" (1917:71), as, eg, in:

(2.5) She was now feeling herself to be almost a heroine  
(= 'ironical').

(2.6) But I am forgetting (= 'reproachful').

Or the EF is said to express 'blame' or 'admiration' if it co-occurs with adverbs like always, constantly etc. (cf. Charleston 1960 for hosts of examples):

(2.7) Here is the shawl you are always dropping.

Van der Laan (1922) tried to account for the 'meaning' of the EF "on a psychological basis". He states:

"The Progressive Form, being the form of conscious observation, its use depends 1. upon the degree of attention or interest with which a single action is regarded, 2. upon the place it occupies in the thought complex of which it is a unit" (Van der Laan 1922:17).

It is not justifiable to attribute the 'emotional colouring' of the utterance to the EF. It does not denote a particular emotional state. The latter is a pragmatic matter, a consequence of the particular extralinguistic situation referred to by the utterance. The use of the EF in utterances of this kind is perfectly compatible with its main function (see § 5.6.4).

4.1.10 Many traditional grammars are characterized by a discussion of "a variety of secondary functions which are not always easy to determine or discriminate" (Poutsma 1926:318). Having identified 'durativeness or iterativeness' as the 'basic meaning' of the EF Poutsma distinguishes:

- i) the progressive function,
- ii) the relieving function (p. 329ff): cf. Sweet (1898:97) who called it the 'descriptive' function making "the narrative more vivid and picturesque"; German authors frequently refer to it as 'veranschaulichend', 'vergegenständlichend',
- iii) the characterizing function (using Poutsma's kind of terminology): in a sentence like He is always smoking the action denoted by the verb is not thought of as actually 'going-on'; the utterance rather serves to

indicate a 'characterizing habit' equivalent to

'He is a tremendous smoker'.

- iv) the qualitative function: although the form marked by ing retains its verbal character (vs. He is charming)

it describes more a state than an activity, eg:

(2.8) They are utterly lacking in sound principles

(= 'deficient')

(2.9) They are all doing well (= 'prosperous')

It is the 'descriptive function' I want to concentrate upon here since it has gained considerable importance both in linguistically oriented writings dealing with 'textual analysis' ('Textlinguistik') and in pedagogic grammars. Kruisinga & Erades state:

"The progressive, especially the past progressive, is often used to enhance the graphic or plastic effect of a sentence. This is largely due to the fact that it suggests duration ... This descriptive function of the progressive may well be its most essential characteristic" (Kruisinga & Erades 1953:255).

The descriptive force of the EF then frequently serves the writer/speaker, they argue,

"... to sketch the background against which some activity is represented as taking place. The consequence is that a sentence like I was sitting by the window is hardly complete; we expect some complement" (p.255f).

The 'background function' is clearly related to Jespersen's 'frame' theory. Joos (1964:127) sets up the "rule" (sic): SF "for each event that advances the plot of the narrative" and EF "for each event that is rather background to the plot-advancing events without itself advancing the plot".

A book that had a determining influence on the tense and aspect discussion in Germany when it first appeared in 1964 is the one by Weinrich. The author denies outright that tense has anything to do with time. He refuses to discuss 'sentences' and only accepts the study of 'texts':

"The most useful and the most important function of the tenses is to inform us about the speech situation in which we find ourselves, the speaker as well as the listener"

(Weinrich 1970:35).

He distinguishes only two main speech situations: the 'narrative' and the 'discursive' (= 'commentary'). They differ in the speaker's and listener's attitudes as well as the tenses employed. The 'zero tense' for narratives is the preterite, for commentaries the present. The second dimension to be found in any tense system is 'prospection' and 'retrospection' (sic: time): cf. for a criticism Nehls 1974:22f. A third dimension is "relievo" ('Reliefgebung'), ie, the structuring of a narrative into 'foreground' and 'background'. Weinrich declares categorically:

"Und diese Funktion, den Hintergrund der Erzählung zu bezeichnen, ist die einzige Funktion des Tempus he was singing" (Weinrich 1971:125).

He fiercely rejects any idea of 'aspect' in these forms:

"And nothing else, of course, certainly not such things as perfective or non-perfective, durative or non-durative aspect" (Weinrich 1970:38).

Most of his sweeping claims are still to be validated or invalidated, especially his thesis that the EF, since it denotes 'background', will be particularly frequent at the beginning (and the end) of a



narrative, since every narrative requires some sort of introduction or exposition (cf. above § 3.5.2 and below § 5.7.4.2). Weinrich's ideas were incorporated whole-heartedly in a recent textbook on 'textual analysis' (Dressler 1972:47-50). At this juncture four critical remarks will be sufficient:

- i) 'foreground' and 'background' do not always correspond to main clause and dependent clause,
- ii) the two forms are not always interchangeable in the matrix and the embedded clause as one would expect from Weinrich's 'stylistic' characterization,
- iii) denying the existence of a linguistic category like 'aspect' without even trying to refute the arguments of those who hold an adverse opinion is scientifically untenable a position,
- iv) his 'tense theory' is deficient in that it only recognizes the 'point of speech' and the 'point of the event' ('Textzeit' and 'Aktzeit'). The 'point of reference' (Reichenbach 1947:288), which is so important in the distinction between present perfect and preterite tense forms, is not considered at all.

#### 4.2 Distinguishing 'proposition types', 'aspect' and 'aktionsarten'

4.2.1 The field of 'aspectology', in its broadest sense (cf. Andersson 1972: 'Aktionalität'), is characterized by an equally bewildering divergence of opinions, classifications and terminological systems. This is not the place to review the development 'aspectology' has taken in the last 100 years in its entirety or in any great detail. I refer to Heger (1963:49ff) and especially to Andersson's detailed survey of the literature, particularly with regard to the work done

on the Slavonic languages and German (Andersson 1972:74-184).

I will therefore state the position I have arrived at immediately and will only discuss the work of a few (selected) traditional grammarians and the studies carried out by linguists in the last 10 years who support this position.

The hypothesis goes as follows: (see § 4.1.2 for a fuller statement): The most prominent traditional view of 'aspect' as a grammatical category of the verb has to be abandoned in favour of accepting 'aspect' as a feature of the whole sentence. 'Aspects' are configurations at the sentence level, which can be realized grammatically, lexically and syntagmatically. In accordance with the localistic<sup>1</sup> semantic view of 'aspect' as propounded by Jessen (1973, 1974) we will define 'aspect' as

"... the linguistic reflex of the existential status of the situation characterized by the basic proposition" (Jessen 1974: § 5.3.1).

'Propositions' are "the logico-linguistic correlates of situation types" (ie, extralinguistic states of affairs which may or may not be temporally structured). A third category we have to distinguish are the 'aktionsarten', in the sense of 'Phasenaktionsarten' only. The three categories are, of course, closely related and interdependent.

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1. Cf. Anderson 1973 for a localistic treatment of aspect. I do not, however, agree with Anderson's and Jessen's classification of the aspects into 'retrospective', 'prospective' and 'progressive' aspect (cf. Anderson 1973:39f). Anderson's and Jessen's notion of aspect is based on Deutschbein's 1939 system. To me these are time and not aspect distinctions. Cf. also Heger (1963:54-56) for a critical assessment of the position held by Deutschbein and his followers.

4.2.2 The threefold classification of 'proposition', 'aspect' and 'aktionsart' reflects in a way the system suggested by Deutschbein (1939) who distinguishes:

- i) 'Zeitcharakter' (= 'lexical verb classes'),
- ii) grammatical 'Aspekt' (= 'subjective view of the speaker'),
- iii) lexico-grammatical 'Aktionsarten' (= 'phases of a situation').

In his account of 'aspect' and 'aktionsart' Deutschbein is an exponent of an older tradition (Hermann, Porzig et al) in regarding this contrast in terms of a 'subjective-objective' opposition. This tradition considers the 'aspects' as having something to do with the 'speaker's view of things' (= 'subjective'), whereas the 'aktionsarten' are said to denote the 'objective' development of the states of affairs. This crude view of 'aspect' has been abandoned, even by Slavacists (cf. Forsyth 1970, Andersson 1972). Deutschbein's concept of 'zeitcharakter', on the other hand, is still relevant to the present discussion because it is related to 'time' and 'existence', notions which pertain to any 'verbal element':

"Wir wollen dieses zeitliche Moment, das in jedem Verbalbegriff enthalten sein muss, als Zeitcharakter des Verbums bezeichnen, dieser Zeitcharakter ist zunächst vollkommen unabhängig von der aktuellen Einzelsituation, in der der Prozess sich vollzieht. Was ist nun der Zeitcharakter des Verbums an sich? Jede Vorstellung von einem Prozess, worunter wir alle Arten von zeitlichen Existenzformen verstehen (Zustand, Vorgang, Tätigkeit, Handlung), impliziert ohne weiteres eine bestimmte extensive Grösse innerhalb der Zeit selbst. Prozesse sind also Gegenstände in der Zeit, wie es Gegenstände im Raum gibt...

Bezeichnet danach das reine Verbum zeitlich intensive  
Größen, so ergibt sich daraus, dass die Natur der Verben  
in bezug auf die zeitliche Ausdehnung verschieden ist"  
(Deutschbein 1939:134).

4.2.3 Scholars of G and Russian have long argued for the concept of 'aktionsarten' (as opposed to grammatical 'aspect'), since these languages have, in addition to 'aspectual verbs' like begin, cease, finish (see § 4.6.3), a 'system' of verbal prefixes which seem to justify the classification of verbs into lexical groups according to common semantic properties, the most frequently cited ones being: ingressive, egressive, momentary, iterative, durative, delimitative, evolutive, attenuative, resultative (cf. Andersson 1972:14, Isačenko 1962:385ff). The following comments seem appropriate:

- i) The classification of aktionsarten is a matter of definition, there exists no 'universally' accepted system of aktionsarten.
- ii) The classifications which are usually suggested are not homogeneous. They comprise 'Phasenaktionsarten', 'quantitative aktionsarten' like 'momentary/semelfactive', 'iterative' (a class of separate like acts), 'delimitative' (eg, Russian posidet' = 'remain seated for a little while'), 'evolutive' (= 'increase in intensity of a process': Isačenko 1962:390), 'attenuative' (= 'decrease in intensity'), aktionsarten which receive their specific interpretation only with certain predicates ('resultative', eg.), and others that are harder to characterize: Isačenko lists 'comitative' (usually denoting simultaneous actions), 'mutual' (eg, 'talk with one another'), etc.
- iii) At least in G the system of verbal prefixes is not as

productive as many authors would seem to assume or assert.

It should be considered (and left) a matter of word formation only.

- iv) Although in Russian the two aspects and the various aktionsarten combine fairly freely with one another, the aktionsarten are said to exclude each other (cf. Nehls 1974:29). If we now render a process with ingressive aktionsart like the one denoted by Die Rose blühte auf in E (where the 'phases' of an event are frequently lexicalized by different verbs anyway: roses open, blossom, wither; cf. G auf/erblühen, blühen, verblühen) we can use either SF or EF. If we select the EF, thereby denoting the 'ongoingness' of the inchoative process (see § 4.5.2), ie, The rose was opening, we would have to speak of the durative/progressive aktionsart of an ingressive aktionsart of a durative process. This seems absurd. What we want is provide an explanation for why The rose was opening is understood as a process moving gradually towards an absolute state (be open), which, in contrast, may or may not have come about in The rose opened.
- v) Hence the term aktionsarten should be restricted to 'Phasenaktionsarten' only (see § 4.6.3). The 'quantitative aktionsarten' are in fact special situation types, where the semantic notions implicit in the G or Russian verbal prefix are either spelled out syntagmatically or lexicalized in the use of different verbs in E. The SF/EF-distinction also has a bearing upon these proposition types: thus we get the iterative interpretation if the EF co-occurs with momentary 'bounded' events (see § 5.6.3).

#### 4.2.4 Deutschbein's classification of verb classes in terms of



'zeitcharakter' is in 'durative' and 'non-durative' verbs, with explicit reference to Jespersen's 'non-conclusive' and 'conclusive' verbs (1924: 287). The latter class is further sub-categorized into 'terminative' and 'momentary' verbs, a classification which closely resembles the one by Streitberg (1889). This only goes to show that some traditional aspectual studies were conceived in semantic and not only in purely formal (inflectional) terms, especially when these notions were applied to non-Slavonic languages (cf. Poutsma's system, 1926):

1. imperfective aspect,
2. perfective aspect
  - a) momentaneous - perfective aspect,
  - b) durative - perfective aspect,
3. iterative aspect.

Deutschbein also observes that his two 'verb classes' are associated with different temporal questions: for how long? vs. within what time? which points to the role which temporal adverbials may have in matters of 'aspect' (see below § 4.8). The twofold distinction is also present in Garey's (1957: 100) classification of 'atelic' vs. 'telic' verbs. The latter are said to express "an action tending toward a goal", the former "are those which do not have to wait for a goal for their realization, but are realized as soon as they begin". Surely, the property of being telic or atelic is not only a matter of the verb. However, he points out different semantic implications with telic and atelic verbs (see § 4.3.5), his test frame being: "If one was verbing, but was interrupted while verbing, has one verbed?" (Garey 1957:105f). Garey advances the study of 'aspect' considerably by observing that the direct object NP may have an effect on the telic or atelic



character of a 'construction', although he obscures his observations again by talking about 'atelic complements' of a verb (eg, jouer du violon/du Beethoven). The interaction of categories of the noun with aspectual matters will be taken up in §§ 4.7.2, 5.3.3 and 5.4.3. Apart from a few exceptions, notably Bull (1960), it was not linguists who interested themselves in the question how the various contextual elements relate in the 'composition' of aspectual categories. Rather it was the philosophers who were 'the first' to investigate the interaction of different verb classes with various tense forms and adverbial modifiers, or in our terminology, the temporal-aspectual properties of certain types of 'situations' as denoted by types of 'propositions'.

#### 4.3 The philosophers' approaches: the 'verb' classifications of Ryle, Kenny and Vendler

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4.3.1 Propositions are the logico-linguistic correlates of (extralinguistic) 'situations'. In order to characterize the syntactic properties and semantic interpretations of certain types of sentences containing an EF or SF respectively (cf. Garey's implicational test) we need a classification of 'situations' as denoted by 'propositions'. Just as semantic features (cf. Bierwisch 1970) are not necessarily correlates of the physical properties of the world but rather 'markers' of how we perceive and conceptualize this 'reality', we cannot separate 'situation types' from their logico/semantic correlates and linguistic encodings. We will have to classify situations, in their respective semantic structure and linguistic encoding, because they vary according to the types of 'expressions'<sup>1</sup> they can be modified by. Or vice versa, the 'meaning'

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1. Cf. Leech's (1969:31) definition of this 'neutral' term: "any lexico-grammatically identified stretch of language whose exact grammatical constituency is irrelevant to the discussion".

of a specific expression depends on the type of situation it is associated with.

4.3.2 It was obviously Aristotle (in Metaphysics and other works) who observed first that different verbs<sup>1</sup> are related in different, yet very particular, ways to time (see § 4.2.2 for the grammarian's notion of 'zeitcharakter': Deutschsein). His concepts of 'kineseis' and 'energeiai' have been discussed and explicated by Kenny (1963: 173-183), Potts (1965) and Taylor (1965):

"Actions which have a limit can be characterized ... by not being ends or goals themselves but by being done for the sake of a goal not yet realized during the course of the action ... Actions which lack a limit, by contrast, are themselves ends, and 'the end belongs in them'" (Potts 1965:65).

Examples would be house-building vs. playing the lyre (see above § 4.2.2 for the grammarians' distinction of 'conclusive' and 'non-conclusive' or 'telic' and 'atelic' verbs).

4.3.3 Ryle (1949) was the first of the Oxford philosophers who interested himself in various kinds of propositions/expressions/terms and their logical properties in order to describe and explain the operations of the mind and human 'actions' in general. His discussion is rather heterogenous. Hopefully I am not misrepresenting him too much in extracting and setting up the following classification of 'dispositions and occurrences/episodes' (Ryle 1949: § V):

1. dispositional words

(know, believe, aspire, clever, humorous etc):

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1. The philosophers referred to in this section hardly ever make a clear distinction between situation types, ie, events and states and their linguistic expressions. Most see the linguistic encoding of a situation simply in terms of the 'verb', where they are also inconsistent in their use of this term with respect to the 'verb' proper or the predicate (including the object complement).

"They signify abilities, tendencies, or pronenesses to do, not things of one unique kind, but things of lots of different kinds" (Ryle 1949:114). - This category is basically equivalent to our state situations.

2. episodic words

This category would seem to cover event situations:

"There are hosts of ways in which we describe people as now engaged in this, as frequently undergoing that, as having spent several minutes in an activity, or as being quick or slow to achieve a result" (Ryle 1949:130).

We can subcategorize further:

a) 'minding words' or 'heed concepts'

(notice, take care, attend, concentrate, study, try etc. Ryle 1949:130),

b) activity words

(run, tingle, treat, listen, look, kick, hunt, etc, Ryle 1949:143),

c) 'achievement words' or 'success words'

$\alpha$ ) those that happen at an instant (find, win, etc),

$\beta$ ) those that 'signify more or less protracted proceedings" (keep a secret, hold the enemy at bay, etc, Ryle 1949:143).

Ryle makes another three pertinent observations:

- i) "... we very often borrow achievement verbs to signify the performance of the corresponding task activity, where the hopes of success are good. A runner may be described as winning his race from the start, despite the fact that he may not win it in the end; and a doctor may boast that he is curing his patient's pneumonia, when his treatment

does not in fact result in the anticipated recovery"  
(Ryle 1949:143).<sup>1</sup>

See §§ 5.2.14 and 5.4.2.3 for accomplishment and  
border-crossing propositions containing an EF and the  
different lexical realizations of these in G.

- ii) Sometimes the 'success' is due "wholly to luck", "there  
can be achievements which are prefaced by no task  
performances" (Ryle 1949:144): 'purely lucky achievements'  
(see § 5.2.1.2). He also gives a syntactic test: \* He  
hit the target successfully.

- iii) He also seems to be aware of some 'achievements' being  
semantically complex:

"One big difference between the logical force of a task  
verb and that of a corresponding achievement verb is that  
in applying an achievement verb we are asserting that some  
state of affairs obtains over and above that which consists  
in the performance, if any, of the subservient task  
activity... for a doctor to effect a cure, his patient  
must both be treated and be well again" (Ryle 1949:143f).

Or spelled out more explicitly: "They (achievements) are not acts,  
exertions, operations, or performances, but, with reservations for  
purely lucky achievements, the fact that certain acts, operations,  
exertions, or performances have had certain results" (Ryle 1949:144).

See § 4.5.3 for Dowty's analysis of accomplishment propositions.

4.3.4 In Kenny (1963) we find a classification into:

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1. This observation is stated more explicitly in Potts (1965:83)  
in his discussion of Kenny's criteria for distinguishing 'activities'  
and 'performances': the EF "has the effect of transforming a  
performance into an activity".

1. States

(know, be happy, be taller than, understand, love,  
be blue, see, etc),

2. activities

(live in Rome, giggle, weep, listen to, laugh, ponder  
on, talk, stroke, keep a secret, etc),

3. performances

(build a house, cut the cake, discover, learn, find,  
kill, convince, lift, grow up, etc).

Contrary to Ryle, Kenny distinguishes these classes more clearly by the kind of linguistic expressions they are or are not compatible with.

- i) States are said to be distinguishable from the other two categories in that they do not co-occur with the EF,
- ii) 'state verbs' are not understood iteratively if they are in the simple present tense form; 'action verbs' are,
- iii) activities and performances (the latter correspond to Ryle's achievements) can be kept apart by means of their different logical implications with certain 'tenses': if a man is building a house then he has not yet built it, if someone is now talking then he has already talked. The same criterion was employed by Garey (1957) for identifying telic and atelic verbs (see § 4.2.2).
- iv) performances take in - adverbials, activities for - adverbials (Kenny 1963:176). See above § 4.2.2 in our account of Deutschbein's work.
- v) manner adverbials like slowly and quickly can only co-occur with performances, not with the other two 'verb classes',
- vi) only performances occur as the complement to finish (notice

the interaction of proposition types and aktionsarten!).

Perhaps the most significant advancement towards the logico-linguistic analysis of that apparently complex proposition type 'performance' (in our terminology 'accomplishment') is Kenny's characterization as "bring it about that p", where p is a state or an activity (see § 4.3.3 (iii) on Ryle's suggestion in terms of a 'resultant state').

4.3.5 The most explicit treatment of 'verb' classes from the philosopher's point of view is the one by Vendler (1967), first presented in 1957, ie, before Kenny's 1963 book. Taking into account co-occurrence with time and manner adverbials, 'tenses' and relationships of logical entailment he separates four classes:

1. States

(love, know, believe, dominate, etc)

2. Activities

(run, push a cart, drive a car, swim, etc)

3. Achievements

(reach the top, win the race, spot, recognize, find,  
lose, die, etc)

4. Accomplishments

(run a mile, draw a circle, make a table, give a lecture,  
knit a sweater, etc)

These four 'verb' classes are differentiated by the "time schemata" which they presuppose: "There are a very few such schemata of very wide application" (Vendler 1967:98). Vendler distinguishes the following criteria:

- i) Co-occurrence with the EF separates activities and accomplishments on the one hand and states and achievements<sup>1</sup> on the other.

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1. This claim is, of course, not entirely true for 'achievements': they do occur in the EF.



- ii) Achievements and accomplishments (the former corresponding to Ryle's 'purely lucky achievements', the latter to Kenny's 'performances') answer different temporal questions and take different temporal adverbials (how long did it take him? - in two hours) in contrast to states and activities (for how long did he...? - for two hours).
- iii) States can be distinguished from activities in that they do not take manner adverbials such as carefully, deliberately, etc. (one of the linguists' tests for non-stative vs. stative verbs).
- iv) Achievements take point of time adverbials (at what time? - at 3 pm).
- v) Activities and accomplishments differ as regards their entailments if the agent stops or interrupts the action: Bob stopped running  $\supset$  Bob ran, but: Bob stopped building a sandcastle  $\nsubseteq$  Bob built a sandcastle.
- vi) The interpretation of achievements and accomplishments in relation to their common test frame It took X an hour... is different: It took Bob two hours to reach the top does not imply that 'he was reaching the top' at any moment during the specified period of time, whereas the speaker uttering It took Bob five days to build a sandcastle can truly say at any (see § 5.3.2.3 for a qualification of this assertion) time during these five days: Bob is building a sandcastle.
- vii) Some verbs are used in more than one basic 'sense': think, eg, may be a state or a process, which explains the non-occurrence or occurrence with the EF. Similarly with other state verbs which can also have an achievement

interpretation (see, know, understand).

Vendler's main concern is the way in which a 'verb' "presupposes and involves the notion of time" (1967:97): cf. again Deutschbein's notion of 'zeitcharakter'. Let us therefore turn to the more recent linguistic treatments of these concepts, particularly since some linguists have made use of Vendler's categories.

#### 4.4 The linguists' approaches: studies of 'aspect' by Leech, Macaulay, and Verkuyl

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4.4.1 The pioneering work towards the linguistic study of proposition types and 'aspect' as a feature of the whole sentence derives from Bull (1960) who stated the following basic principle:

"It is important to establish a basic principle which has been largely ignored in descriptive linguistics, namely that the systematic properties of events which are labeled by verbs,<sup>1</sup> interact with the systematic properties of the referents of the other parts of speech, and this interaction produces meaning which cannot be conveyed by the individual elements of the syntactical combination. In other words, it is this interaction which has been loosely and inaccurately described as the function of context" (Bull 1960:45).

4.4.2 Leech (1969) implicitly associates the SFs with, if I interpret him correctly, a characterization of what to me is in fact 'perfective aspect' which he seems to capture by the 'ascription feature' [+ COU]. However, EFs are not correlated with [- COU] but are assigned a separate ascription feature [+ SITUATION], SFs accordingly [- SITUATION]. This type of semantic feature is meant

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1. The linguistic manifestation of an event requires more than its 'labeling' by a verb.

to capture the fact that 'equivalent' sentences containing an SF or EF respectively are logically not inconsistent: "The difference between them is only a matter of the psychological light in which the action is regarded" (Leech 1969:149). Leech rejects all the 'semantic characterizations' of the EF that had previously been suggested like 'progressive', 'durative', 'continuous', etc, as "semantically unsatisfactory". Instead, he proposes the semantic feature 'situation', " a term which perhaps comes closer than any of the others to capturing their common distinctive meaning" (Leech 1969:149). I personally find it vacuous as compared with many others. The optionality in the choice of SF and EF to which Leech refers (see quote above) only occurs with certain proposition types. In others the selection of the EF instead of the SF has very definite (and different) logical implications. There are also cases in which either the EF or the SF are obligatory. Leech then goes on to draw a distinction between 'senses' and 'connotations', the latter being "criterial aspects of meaning" (p. 275) and not derivative by-products of one 'essential' meaning. Leech stresses the point: "To explain the meaning symbolized [+ SITU], it is necessary to identify three 'connotations' or properties which individually may or may not be contrastive in a given instance, but collectively distinguish it from [- SITU]" (Leech 1969:149).

These three connotations are:

i) duration

It applies in the case of 'event predications' like

He picks/is picking up the book, it is neutralized

(ie, has no distinctive value) with 'state predications'.

ii) limited time extension

The idea of temporariness is brought out in contrasting

the uses of EFs and SFs in I live/am living in Highgate and The engine works/is working perfectly.

iii) happening not necessarily complete

cf. 'played/was playing the piano from 10 to 11 o'clock and He drowned/was drowning.

iv) continuousness

Particularly with 'inexorable processes' such as The earth is turning on its axis or Death is getting nearer every day.

This treatment of the semantics of the EF is not considered satisfactory, the two main critical points being:

- i) Any specific sentence containing an EF is not ambiguous with regard to these four 'connotations',
- ii) these four 'connotations' represent interpretations which a sentence containing an EF in a specific identifiable context may take on. 'Duration' is only 'felt', if at all, with 'activity predicates', 'limited duration' with 'extensive state predicates', 'incompleteness' with Vendler's achievement and accomplishment predicates, and 'continuousness' can only be observed with states of affairs that are continuous or uninterrupted processes anyway.

4.4.3 Drawing upon Kenny's and Vendler's observations in relation to the syntactic and semantic properties of certain 'verb' classes Macaulay (1971) sets out, within the framework of the interpretive model of generative-transformational grammar, to establish an aspectual opposition of the feature [PERFECTIVE] in English. He argues that the "contrast PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE must be represented (1) as a feature in the lexical entry for verbs, (2) in the auxiliary, and (3) as a transferred feature on larger constituents" (Macaulay 1971:(i)). Following Lakoff's account of 'stative verbs' he



recognizes various co-occurrence restrictions: 'stative verbs' do not enter the [+ PERF] distinction, verbs marked [- PERF] occur freely with durational adverbials, whereas those marked [+ PERF] underlie certain restrictions. The latter do not come into operation if be + ing, which is inherently marked as [- PERF], is in the auxiliary. [+ PERF] is said to underlie the SFs and certain 'perfectivizing particles' like up. The latter would then constitute, in conjunction with the [- PERF] verb grow, a [+ PERF] 'complex' grow up. Macaulay also takes into account the 'nature' of the NPs by obligatorily assigning to them the feature [+ SPECIFIC], which he understands in terms of 'unique reference' (p. 92). Thus he can deal with the fact that an inherently [- PERF] verb like eat 'becomes' [+ PERF] in the verb phrase eat an apple, if the NP is [+ SPEC]. This points to the central theoretical point of his thesis: since "the feature [PERF] turns out to be relevant at different levels of constituent structure, it is necessary to have some mechanism by which the specification of this feature can be transferred to higher nodes. It is proposed that syntactic amalgamation rules be added to the grammar for this purpose" (Macaulay 1971: (iii)).

The 'problems' with Macaulay's approach are:

- i) His approach is a syntactic not a semantic one,
- ii) He makes use of surface structure notions like 'direct object' which forbid him to deal with [+ SPEC] object complements which do not 'make' the verb phrase containing an inherently [- PERF] verb [+ PERF], as can be seen from the possible co-occurrence with durational adverbials:  

(2.10) Bob drove his 'Jaguar' all morning.

(2.11) Bob walked the colt all afternoon.
- iii) He does not observe the 'perfectivizing effect' of

directional prepositional phrases as do Verkuyl (1972) and Dowty (1972):

(2.12) \* Bob pushed his 'Jaguar' to the garage for  
10 minutes.

(2.13) Bob pushed his 'Jaguar' to the garage in  
10 minutes.

- iv) He is not aware of sentences containing a [+ SPEC] object which can have both a 'perfective' and an 'imperfective interpretation', as can be seen from their compatibility with both in and for adverbials:<sup>1</sup>

(2.14) David read the 'Times' for/in an hour.

(2.15) Mary cleaned the house for/in three hours.

- v) Accounting for both achievements and accomplishments (Vendler) in terms of one feature, [+ PERF], does not do justice to the differences in adverbial modification (only the former happen at an instant) and internal complexity: cf. Ryle and Kenny. The positive thing about Macaulay's study is his observation that 'stative verbs' do not take part in the [+ PERFECTIVE] distinction (see § 4.7.2). It is useful to refer, at this juncture, to the comparable results obtained by Miller (1970:491) with respect to 'stative verbs' in Russian: "They have no perfective aspect form".

4.4.4 The most explicit and rigorous treatment of the 'aspects' as a compositional 'feature' of the whole sentence is the one by Verkuyl (1972). He argues convincingly that the opposition between the 'two aspects' ('durative' and 'non-durative', the latter comprising

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1. First pointed out to me by S. P. Corder.



'terminative' and 'momentaneous' aspect: cf. Streitberg's and Poutsma's classifications) also exists in languages like Dutch and English. This is only possible if they are not assigned to verbs, and if Gruber's (1967) suggestion of 'polycategorical lexical attachment' is accepted. Taking into account the character of the direct object, the indirect object, the subject and directional prepositional phrases he concludes:

"The Durative and the Nondurative Aspects in these sentences appear to be composed of a Verbal subcategory on the one hand and a configuration of categories of a nominal nature on the other" (Verkuyl 1972:(x)).

Having also observed the role of 'quantifiers' in relation to these nominal categories he provides the following configurational 'schemes' for 'nondurative' and 'durative aspect':

i) Nondurative Aspect

$$S [NP_1 [SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X]_{NP_1} + VP [v [VERB]_v +$$

$$NP_2 [SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X]_{NP_2} (or QC) +$$

$$NP_3 [SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X]_{NP_3} ] VP ] S$$

Conditions:

- i) VERB must stand for subcategorial nodes discussed above such as MOVEMENT, PERFORM, TAKE, ADD TO, CHANGE, DO, etc.
- ii) does not apply to negative sentences.

ii) Durative Aspect

$$S [NP_1 [ (UN)SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X ]_{NP_1} + VP [ v [VERB]_v +$$

$$NP_2 [ (UN)SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X ]_{NP_2} (or QC) +$$

$$NP_3 [ (UN)SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X ]_{NP_3} ] VP ] S$$

Condition: at least one of the categories  $NP_1$ ,  $NP_2$  (or QC) and  $NP_3$  must be UNSPECIFIED (Verkuyl (1972:106))

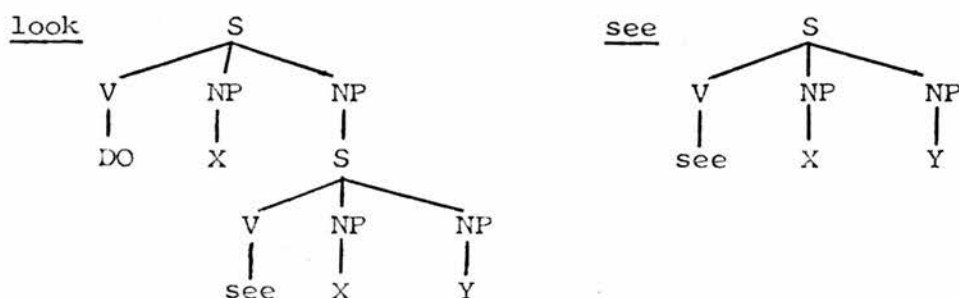
Verkuyl does not deal with the EF and its semantic implications with different proposition types. He does not refer to the work done by the philosophers discussed in § 4.3. He has, however, advanced the study of aspect considerably by showing that these features/categories relate to the structure of entire sentences.

#### 4.5 Dowty's logico-semantic analysis of Vendler's 'verb' classes

Working within the generative semantics model Dowty (1972) undertakes to give a semantic analysis of Vendler's 'verb/sentence' classes. Being the most comprehensive semantic treatment of these four situation types to hand at the moment his insightful logico-semantic analysis of the corresponding proposition types will be used as the basis for the present study of the syntax and semantics of the EF. Dowty's definition of the semantics of the EF in terms of the truth conditions for intervals of time is according to his own words (p. 133) 'ad hoc' and will therefore not be considered here.

4.5.1 Activity propositions: Dowty claims that "the occurrence of DO is exactly what distinguishes activities and most accomplishments from achievements and statives" (1972:62). In order to describe the semantic properties of the 'atomic predicate' DO, he contrasts three cases in which the 'same' predicate occurs with or without higher DO:

- i) the stative and the active verbs of perception which, he suggests, differ in that the active ones have the related stative one embedded in DO, eg:



- ii) the so-called nonstative and stative adjectives and predicate nominals like X is (being) careful/a hero.
- iii) the symmetrical or asymmetrical relation between NPs as represented in sentences containing two-place predicators like kiss, commit adultery, have intercourse, fight, etc:

(2.14) Bob and Jerry were fighting.

(2.15) Bob was fighting Jerry.

Either both NPs are subject of DO or only one is subject of DO.

This analysis also explains the unacceptability of:

(2.16)\* The drunk and the lamppost embraced.

What is common in all three cases as regards the semantic characterization of DO, Dowty maintains, is the element of intentionality and/or volition. Again, as with the EF, he suggests tentatively the following logical relation as a 'meaning postulate' for DO:

(2.17) at any time t, DO (X, (f (x)) at t  $\supset$  INTEND  
(x, f(x)) at t (Dowty 1972:71)

For a rather detailed discussion of potential counter-examples to his theory of DO as the verb of agency, cf. Dowty 1972:80ff. Surface do is considered the pro-form of both achievement and agentive predicates.

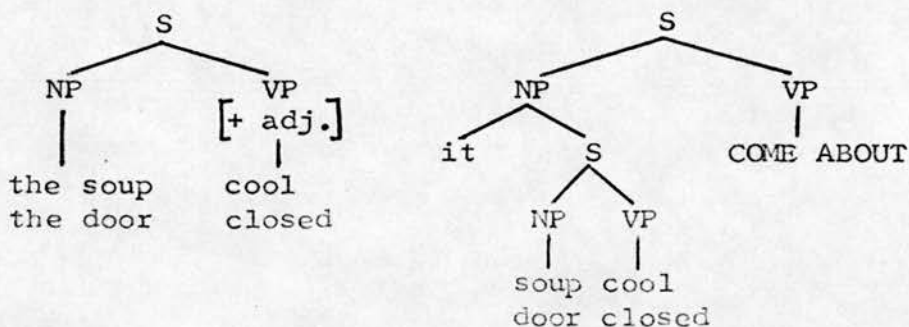
Dowty never mentions 'activity' propositions that do not have an agentive subject, ie, cannot be explained in terms of an underlying DO. They take the EF easily:

(2.18) My stomach is rumbling.

(2.19) My lips are trembling.

Henceforth I will call them 'non-agentive activity propositions',<sup>1</sup> or simply: 'non-agentive occurrences'.

4.5.2 Achievement propositions: Events take place in time (Bull 1960:17). For a door to close it is therefore necessary that the state of the door being open, or being not closed, is followed by another state, namely the door being closed. Events can then be defined in terms of 'change of state', where the two states involved negate each other. Or: state  $p = \sim$  state  $q$ . The same semantic relationship holds between The door closed and The door is closed on the one hand and Lakoff's (1970) 'inchoatives' The soup cooled and The soup is cool on the other. Both pairs of sentences denote the coming about of the state expressed in the second sentence of the two pairs:



This can be formalized as follows, where the operator T captures the

- 
1. I do not want to call them 'state situations/propositions', since they have an idea of 'dynamic ongoingness' associated with them that is absent from state sentences such as John/the book is lying on the floor. They, normally, do not take the imperative: \*Rumble/stomach!, \*Blow, wind!, \*Boil, kettle! This can be taken as one indication of the absence of an underlying DO. Rather, there seems to be an external/internal physio-chemical 'force' involved in all these situations: for a kettle to be boiling there must be an input of physical energy, for a stomach to be rumbling there must exist certain physiological conditions, etc. Very, very tentatively we may wish to postulate something like DETERMINING FORCE as a semantic primitive in such propositions. This does not really matter since 'agentivity' is not all that relevant to the temporal-aspectual properties of events/processes.

notion 'And Next': 'the state p comes about', or:

(2.20) COME ABOUT (p) = def.  $\sim pTp$  (Dowty 1972:43).

This formula mirrors the idea of temporal succession inherent in any event, and also the condition of 'felicity', namely that the speaker can only utter sentences of the inchoative type if he had observed the negation of the resulting state. Dowty then attempts to give a formal semantic treatment for his sentential operator COME ABOUT:

(2.21) COME ABOUT (S) is true at t iff S is true at t  
and  $\sim S$  is true at t-1 (Dowty 1972:44).

Here the 'temporally ordered world states' t-1 and t stand to each other in the relationship of 'earlier-than', or 'previous' time (cf. achievement predicates like lose, find, spot, discover, etc).

There is a class of inchoatives (widen, harden, cool, grow, age, etc) that are analyzable in terms of the coming about of a change of state too, yet they are not 'momentary', ie, happen at an instant of time like the achievements referred to above. They are compatible with durational adverbials:

(2.22) The present writer aged considerably during  
his four years in Edinburgh.

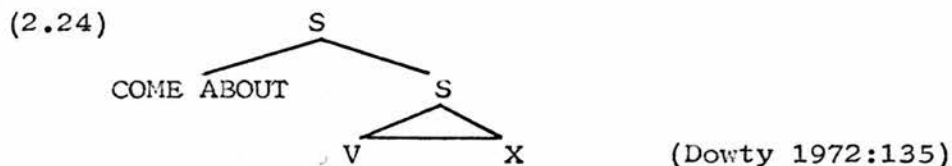
(2.23) The corn dried for a week in the fields (before  
a cloudburst soaked it again).

Sentences like these denote a change-of-state with temporal succession. A certain property of an object (dryness, old-ness) increases or decreases along a certain scale with respect to some earlier reference point. Since this implies that at every point t in the period denoted by the durational adverbial the property of the object has a different objective value (humidity, age), there can be no contradiction in truth values at all these points of time: according to (2.21).

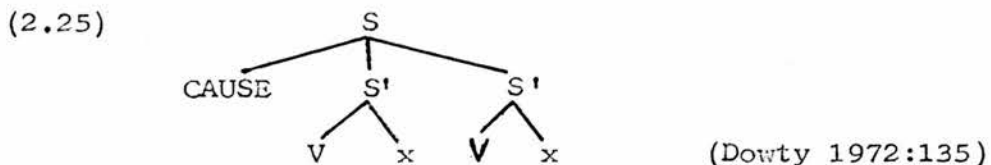


Although this appears to be intuitively correct Dowty feels unable to provide a formal analysis of this proposition type which he names 'degree-achievements'.

Vendler's term 'achievements' is unhappy, particularly alongside his 'accomplishments'. As achieve is itself an accomplishment predicate a term less misleading is desirable for this situation type. To cover the whole class of achievement propositions I will use henceforth the term 'happening' or 'change-of-state proposition', with 'border-crossing proposition' (a term borrowed from Jessen 1973) being restricted to the 'momentary' changes-of-state, and 'inchoative' (or 'mutative') propositions being limited to 'gradual' changes-of-states. Notice that all change-of-state propositions do not contain an underlying DO:



4.5.3 Accomplishment propositions like John built a house, to take an 'existential causative' as an uncontroversial example, are semantically complex: building a house involves an 'activity' of some sort, actually a series of different, heterogeneous 'activities', which 'results' in the 'coming about' of an object. This is to say, the three crucial semantic primitives are DO, CAUSE and COME ABOUT. Dowty's logical treatment of CAUSE hinges essentially on the hypothesis that it takes "two sentential complements as its arguments":



This is, in fact, the structure for 'stative causatives', lexicalized



in English by means of cause, make, have. Dowty provides detailed syntactic arguments for treating CAUSE as such a subject - complement verb (p.95ff). His formal account is rather technical and need not concern us here. All accomplishment propositions, according to Dowty, contain CAUSE and must therefore be dealt with as 'bipartite' phenomena: a change-of-state comes about as the result of an activity or some other non-agentive 'force' or 'happening'.

Dowty distinguishes three classes of accomplishment propositions, I will add a fourth one (2b):

1. agentive accomplishment propositions
  - a) intentional
  - b) non-intentional
2. non-agentive accomplishment propositions
  - a) with change-of-state propositions as the subject-complement
  - b) with occurrence propositions as the subject-complement

Dowty quotes Lakoff who claims that causative sentences are ambiguous as to an intentional or non-intentional reading:

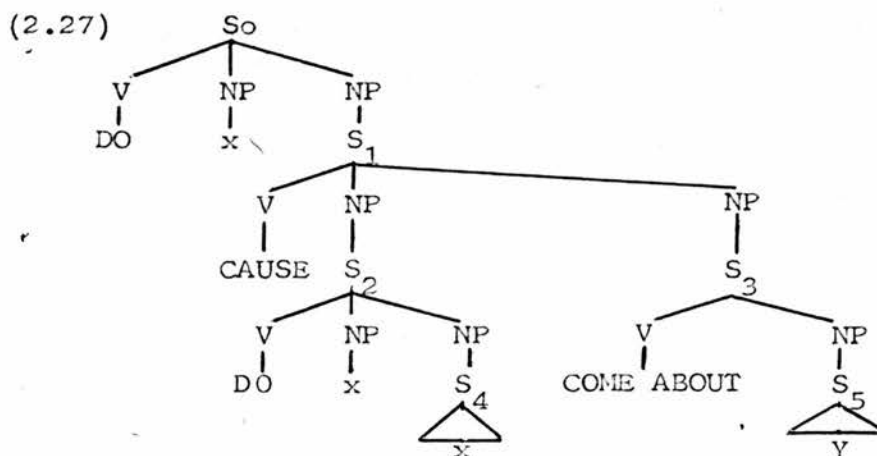
(2.26) John broke the little Buddha on the mantelpiece.

a)= 'He broke it on purpose'

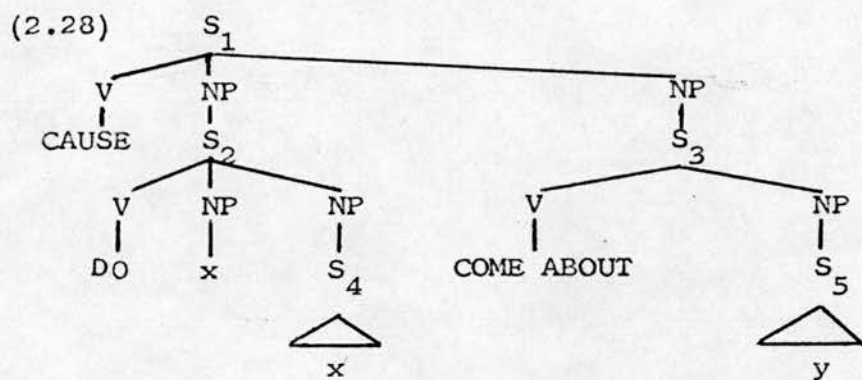
b)= 'He broke it accidentally'

The intentional interpretation can be represented as follows

(Dowty 1972:103):



The 'first' DO dominates both sentential arguments, ie, both the CAUSE and the COME ABOUT sentence. In accordance with (2.17) this implies that the resultant state is brought about by the agent by means of a 'volitional' act. DO must turn up again as the subject complement of CAUSE: if it had been left out there this would yield the contradiction that an intentional act was brought about non-intentionally. The non-intentional reading of agentive accomplishment propositions is represented by having the DO sentence and the result sentence as arguments of CAUSE without a superordinate DO (Dowty 1972:104):



There is syntactic evidence for making this distinction since sentences like:

(2.29) John caused a disturbance by walking out.

(2.30) John's walking out caused a disturbance.

are not really paraphrases of each other (Vendler 1967:165). The first one is ambiguous between the two interpretations:<sup>1</sup>

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1. We can adduce further syntactic evidence:

i) The verb-object configuration somehow forms a 'unit', as can be seen from the replacement with do it:

(2.31) John broke the little Buddha on the mantelpiece. He did it on purpose/accidentally.

ii) We can ask two distinct questions (cf. also Chafe 1970:100-103):

(2.31a) What did John do? - He broke the little Buddha.

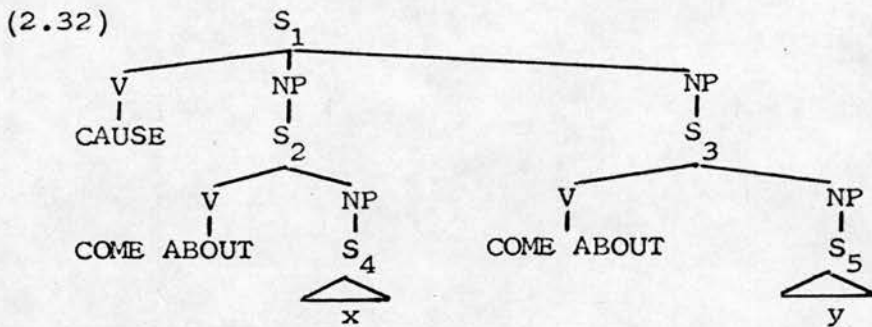
(2.31b) What happened to the little Buddha? - It broke.

(2.29') 'John<sup>{deliberately  
inadvertantly}</sup> caused a disturbance by walking out'.

The second one, with the gerundive nominal, would seem to have the non-intentional reading only. The adverbs qualify only the DO sentence:

(2.30') 'John's <sup>{deliberate  
inadvertant}</sup> walking out caused a disturbance'.

The resultant state can also be caused by a non-agentive 'force': the subject-complement of CAUSE can be either a change-of-state proposition or an occurrence proposition. Dowty provides a semantic analysis for the former (1972:113):



Examples are the following:

(2.33) The Prime Minister's sudden death caused a chaos in the government.

(2.34) Mary's waking up at night disturbed everybody in the room.

(2.35) The collapse of the central government resulted in an uprising in the provinces.

We also observe sentences like:

(2.36) Water levels mighty mountains, creates broad valleys and steep canyons (W:9).

(2.37) Damp rotted the cover.

(2.38) The fire destroyed the house.

(2.39) The walls killed/crushed the demolition workers by falling on them.

Certain inanimate nouns like fire, wind, rain etc, (Source cases in Fillmore's system) are nominalizations, ie, they are derivable from underlying sentences (the wind's blowing, the fire's blazing, etc) and as such correspond to (non-agentive) occurrence propositions. They can also function as the subject-complement of CAUSE in accomplishment propositions: (2.36) - (2.39).

4.5.4 State propositions: Dowty has hardly anything to say about states. He provides the following semantic structure for state propositions containing predicates like know, love, consist of (Dowty 1972:135):



Like the philosophers referred to in § 4.3 he declares that 'stative verbs' do not occur in the EF (p.20). However, we will have to make a distinction between state propositions that contain state predicates which are semantically stative but syntactically 'non-stative', ie, take the EF and those that contain state predicates which are both semantically and syntactically 'stative', ie, normally occur in the SF (see § 5.5.1.1 on 'variable' and 'non-variable' state propositions). Yet even within this latter group we can observe 'degrees' with which certain state predicates (better: propositions) resist expansion. This will have to be explained.

4.5.5 Thus the following classification of situation types evolves:

# Situations/Propositions

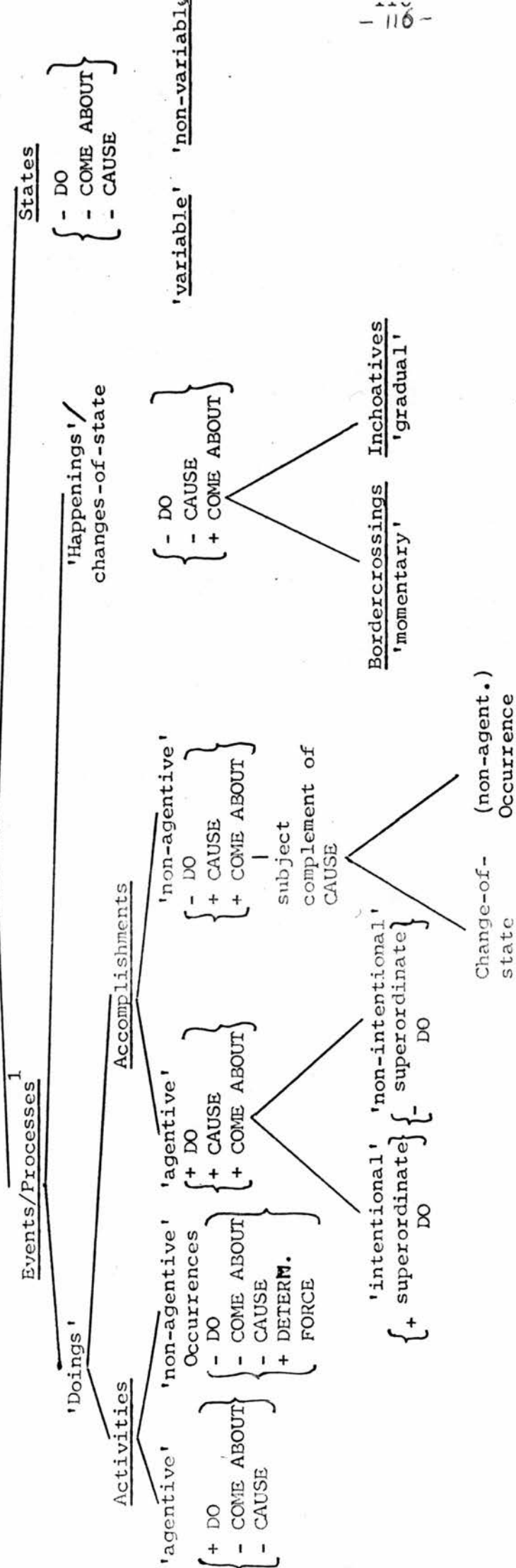


Fig. 2: Situation/Proposition Types

1. Neither the term 'process' nor 'event' seems broad enough on its own, to cover all instances of non-states. Somehow one does not want to apply 'process' to momentary states of affairs. Here the term 'event' is more appropriate. - Notice also that agentive activities are considered only one sub-category of 'doings'. Not all 'doings' are intentional or volitional, though any "willing is a kind of doing, whether what is willed is a state, process or action" (Cruse 1973:18) See also 5.1.7.

#### 4.6 Phases of an event: aktionsarten

4.6.1 Events have been characterized by Bull (1960:17) as follows:

- i) they take place in time,
- ii) they take time to take place, they have length and are measurable,
- iii) they have a beginning, a middle and an end, or in linguistic terms an 'initiative', 'imperfective' and 'terminative' aspect,
- iv) they take place unidirectionally, they always end later in time than they began,
- v) no event can be identical with itself,
- vi) all repetitions of the same event are sequent and serial,
- vii) all are either cyclic or non-cyclic.

The most important characteristic of events is that they are temporally structured entities, ie, have extension in time (cf. Deutschbein 1939). Verkuyl (1972:57) observes, although he does not elaborate this point, that play a concerto (= accomplishment predicate) relates semantically to the expression 'cause the abstract linearly structured object CONCERTO to be mapped into the Time-axis', whereas "this linear entity remains a-temporal" with hate (= state predicate). The very beginning and the very end of an event, though being perceptible, do not have extension in time: they are 'points'. Since events and processes, in Vendler's words, somehow 'interact with time' we will have to elucidate the 'phases' of an event (= 'Phasenaktionsarten').

4.6.2 We can draw upon the notional construct of 'journey' as developed by Jessen (1973). In accordance with the localist approach (cf. Anderson 1971:12) it attempts to capture both spatial and temporal location: tense and aspect realizations are said to have their source in "temporal locative structures". It is defined by



three components: 'location', 'order' and 'directed movement'.

Its most comprehensive linguistic manifestation in E is:

(2.41) O go/come from A to B.

This implies, rather than asserts, three successive locations of 'O':<sup>1</sup>

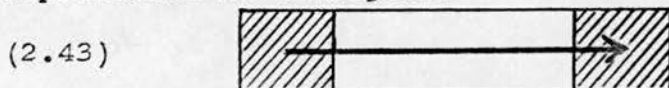
- i) location at A,
- ii) location between A and B,
- iii) location at B.

Characterizing O's not-being at either end-point as 'O's (even collected) location is between A and B' is not sufficient to define this 'middle location'. The dynamic factor of 'directed movement' has to be included.

There would seem to be three possible linguistic encodings of full, three-state journeys (Jessen 1973:114f):

- i) (2.42) Henry is walking from Edinburgh to Glasgow.

Only the starting- and the end- point are specified; or represented in a diagram:



- ii) (2.44) Henry crossed the river.

(2.45) Mary jumped the puddle.

The 'middle location' is specified here:



- iii) (2.47) Henry crossed the German-French border at 1 pm.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Cf. Jessen 1973:113ff for a formal treatment in terms of set theory and symbolic logic. Hopefully I do not misrepresent her too much by restricting myself to a simplified account of the notion of 'journey' which I consider, because of its 'metaphorical' character, of great pedagogic utility (see §6.3).
  2. Accomplishments are in a way 'shrinkable' in that they can co-occur with point of time adverbials as in (2.47) but also with period of time adverbials as in (2.49):  
(2.49) It took Henry 30 minutes to cross the German-French border.

(2.48) Henry crossed from Germany into France at 1 pm.

The intermediate stage of (2.46) has 'shrunk' to the point where initial and final location are contiguous (Jessen refers to this kind of journey as "border-crossing"; see

§ 4.5.2, particularly (2.21), ie, Dowty's insightful logical analysis of 'momentary achievements'):



4.6.3 Let us now consider the linguistic expressions which specify overtly a particular phase of a 'journey':

i) stative ('be in a state')

Location at the starting point as in:

(2.51) Henry was (standing) in front of the Castle.

(2.52) Bob loves sandcastles.

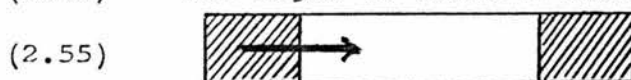
As isolated utterances they do, of course, not point to the notion of 'journey'.

ii) inceptive ('go into a process')

Transition from the starting point to the intermediate stage 'location between A and B':

(2.53) Henry left the Castle.

(2.54) Bob began to build a sandcastle.



'Inception' (like 'termination' and 'cessation': see below) is a specific case of 'border-crossing'. It happens at an instant of time. The relation to full (three-state) journeys is borne out by the fact that the end-point can be specified overtly or is understood from the context: The Queen left the Castle for Holyrood Palace. Notice that begin, like the other E verbs which denote phases of an event, is usually incompatible (as a true border-crossing, ie, if we discard

the possibility of referring to the 'preparations' of a complex activity) with durational adverbials:

(2.56)\* Bob began to build a sandcastle for two hours/  
for quite some time.

(2.57)\* Bob ceased/finished building a sandcastle until  
sunset/for a long time.

Being a border-crossing itself begin (like finish) is incompatible with another border-crossing (process predicates):<sup>1</sup>

(2.58)\* John {began/ to lose/  
finished losing } his wallet.

(2.59)\* John {began/ to arrive/  
finished arriving } at the station.

The most common E verbs denoting inception are begin, start and commence. Both gerundive and infinitive complements can follow: We began to play football/playing football. Occasionally other lexical means are used: fall (fall asleep, fall to talking) set (it set in raining, Mary set to taking the doll's house to pieces) but also break/burst out laughing. Not infrequently begin occurs in the EF. The speaker's main orientation is still on the inceptive phase of the event, the implication usually being that the situation denoted by the sentence 'develops gradually' (see § 5.2.1.4 on border-crossings in the EF in general):

(2.60) He was beginning to form her (HM:171)

(2.61) She is (slowly/gradually) beginning to understand  
the implications of all this.

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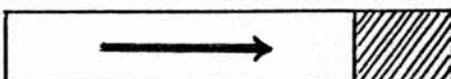
1. Notice that the Russian equivalent of begin (начина́т) can only be followed by infinitives in imperfective aspect (Miller 1971:233).

iii) progressive ('be in a process'/'ongoing')

Location in the intermediate stage (the inceptive phase is presupposed) and directed movement towards the end-point as in:

(2.62) Henry was walking towards Holyrood Palace.<sup>1</sup>

(2.63) Bob was building a sandcastle when ...

(2.64) 

(2.65) Henry was walking away from the Castle.

(2.66) 

Not all 'ongoing' events are directional, eg, the activities denoted by John is smiling/laughing. Here the reference is not to a full three-state 'journey'.

iv) terminative ('come out at the end of a process')

Transition from the intermediate stage to location at the end-point, the two preceeding phases 'go into process' and 'be in process' are presupposed:

(2.67) Henry reached Holyrood Palace.

(2.68) Bob finished building a sandcastle.

(2.69) 

Only the gerundive complement is possible:

(2.70) Bob finished {building  
\* to build} a sandcastle.

Particular focus upon the terminative phase can also be given by adverbial particles such as right through, out, up, etc. Note, however, that the following accomplishment sentences imply the attainment of the goal even without

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1. See § 3.4.8, footnote p.61, on the ambiguity of the preposition to. Towards is the archi-preposition for 'directed movement'. This is not to be equated with 'telic predicates': note that (2.62), even if it contained a SF instead of an EF, would not imply that the 'end-point' was reached.

these particles (these are not Macaulay's 'perfectionizing particles': see § 4.4.3):

(2.71) I read 'War and Peace' right through.

(2.72) He ate up the whole plate.

(2.73) She dried up her tears with a silk handkerchief.

v) stative ('be in a state')

Location at the end-point as in (contextually determined reading):

(2.74) Henry is (standing) in front of Holyrood Palace.

(2.75) The Sandcastle is impressive.

We may take note of another phase of an event, namely 'cessation' ('come out of a process'):

(2.76) Henry stopped walking towards Holyrood Palace.

(2.77) Bob stopped building a sandcastle.

With stop only the gerundive complement is possible:

(2.78)\* Bob stopped to build a sandcastle.

Cease takes either the gerundive or the infinitival complement:

(2.79) Bob ceased to build/building a sandcastle.

All situation types apart from border-crossings can be stopped at some arbitrary point:

(2.80)\* Henry stopped crossing the border at 1 pm.

(2.81)\* Henry stopped leaving/reaching the castle.

Cessation, and not termination, is the polar concept to inception.

It is only certain events, namely those denoted by accomplishment propositions, that can be terminated. Only they have an idea of

'end' or 'completion' built into them. Termination includes, of

course, cessation but not vice versa. If stop occurs with durational adverbials the latter denotes the stretch of time after cessation

has occurred:

- (2.82) We stopped at the inn for two days (= 'stay for two days').

#### 4.7 'Aspect' and the semantic properties of nominals

##### 4.7.1 Consider the following sentences:

- (2.83)\* Ten crofters have been leaving the Hebrides for ages.
- (2.84) Crofters have been leaving the Hebrides for ages.
- (2.85)\* Bob has been breaking a/the vase(s) all morning.
- (2.86) Bob has been breaking vases all morning.

The semantic properties of the nominal categories seem to have a bearing upon the aspectual properties of the proposition as a whole. With regard to the identification and quantification of nominals the following semantic distinctions will be drawn:

#### 1. Identification

##### a) definite/non-definite

In using the indefinite article, or optionally weak some with mass nouns, the speaker assumes that the hearer cannot identify the particular item, or instance in the case of mass nouns, which he, the speaker, introduced into the discussion for the first time (= 'new information'):

- (2.87) Do you know what happened this morning? Jimmy  
broke  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} a \\ the \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  vase.

The use of the definite article, on the other hand, may enable the hearer to identify the object referred to, ie, the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the object. This information is presupposed.

##### b) specific/non-specific

An indefinite NP in subject position is normally understood



in an utterance as referring to a specific individual or set of individuals. In other positions it can frequently be interpreted as specific or non-specific:

(2.88) Bob is looking for a girl-friend.

- a) But she has to be ... (= 'a certain girl': specific)
- b) Any woman will do ... (= 'some woman or other': non-specific)

Similarly Bach's (1968:106) modalized sentences:

(2.89) She wants/is going to marry a Norwegian.

- a) 'a certain Norwegian'
- b) 'some Norwegian or other'

## 2. Quantification

### a) uniqueness of reference

Unique entities, or proper nouns, like Bob, the sun, the Prime Minister, etc. They cannot be pluralized.

### b) plural/non-plural

Discrete entities can be conceptualized as a member of a set or not. In this sense we can speak of singular and plural.

### c) specified quantity/unspecified quantity

This is meant to refer to the difference between a loaf or a slice of bread, on the one hand, and (some) bread on the other, where the former are conceptualized as spatially discrete entities. The class of 'material' denoted by the respective lexemes is the same.

### d) partitive/non-partitive

We can refer either to the universe of all 'objects' or the universal substance, as in the generic (all) crofters, bread, or to the non-generic 'not-all', which is linguistically often reinforced by some: some crofters, some bread. Even in these

latter non-generic cases the reference is to the whole of all objects or the universal substance. Reference can, however, also be made to a definite plural subset as in some/all of the crofters, where the subset denoted by the crofters is assumed to be already known to the hearer. Here we speak of a partitive relationship.

e) distributive/non-distributive

Quantifiers like each and every, which are both understood as 'definite', are distributive, the latter one having the additional meaning of 'all' associated with it: almost every man, almost all men, but: \* almost each man.

f) cardinal numbers

4.7.2 We have come to the conclusion that there is not only a clear parallelism between verbal and nominal categories, but also a common semantic principle underlying the two in the 'composition' of the two aspectual categories. This would support Verkuyl's analysis of the aspects being higher-level categories rather than the respective complements of a verb changing its aspect (as in Macaulay's treatment). Let us therefore follow up the alleged semantic parallelism between verbal and nominal categories.

Drawing upon Weinreich's and Quine's analysis of 'divided' and 'undivided reference' Allen (1966:192) observes:

"Certainly some nouns, eg, cake, do not seem to suggest 'count-ness' more than they suggest 'mass-ness', or 'mass-ness' more than 'count-ness': it is not until we know whether the noun cake is used with the determiner a or else comprises the whole of a nominal by itself (or is used with a determiner like some) that we can be sure whether it is a so-called count noun or a mass noun".

Thus there are nouns that are sometimes understood as 'count' and sometimes as 'mass' nouns, depending on the kind of determiner they are associated with. Allen then goes on to suggest not to consider these 'nouns' as manifestations of different categories, but: "When discussing such nouns, we will apply the labels 'bounded' and 'non-bounded' [Allen's terms for 'count' and 'mass'] to the NOMINALS (ie, the noun-clusters) of which the nouns form the nuclei, rather than to the nouns themselves" (Allen 1966:193). In other words, in some cases it is the whole NP that is either 'count' or 'mass'. The head nouns in these NPs are not inherently specified as 'mass' or 'count'; they are unspecified. It is only at a higher level of constituent structure that these semantic distinctions are valid. But there are also nouns which are inherently specified as 'count' (eg, car, pencil) or 'mass' respectively (eg, gas, food, water)<sup>1</sup>. The latter denote entities that are "suffusive" (Allen): gas and water are gas and water 'all the way through'. The former are "non-suffusive", ie, they are spatially not homogenous. Thus they are also different from the unspecified nouns like cake, egg and apple where even a small part of the non-bounded some cake or some apple is still cake or apple. This kind of homogeneity is not assumed to be present with the bounded NP a cake or an egg.

These distinctions can also be found with verbal categories. Accepting Garey's (1957) terminology of telic and atelic verbs/constructions we have:

- 
1. If we neglect 'recategorizations' as in: a rich milk, a poisonous gas. Mass nouns can also take part in bounded NPs if a 'specified quantity' of the 'material' denoted by the lexeme is spelled out: a slice of bread, a cup of coffee, a pint of water, etc.

- i) inherently telic verbs: ie, the border-crossing predicates like drown, die, arrive, etc.
- ii) inherently atelic verbs: ie, the non-variable state predicates like love, know, consist of, etc. (cf. Macaulay's and Miller's observations: § 4.4.3),
- iii) unspecified verbs which, depending on the semantic properties of the nominal they are associated with, enter telic or atelic 'constructions' (ie, the activity predicates like play, smoke, eat, etc.): play football, play the piano, play organ music, play organ concertos are atelic predicates, whereas play an organ concerto, play a round of snooker are telic predicates. The latter then constitute accomplishment predicates.

It may also be noted that Allen's notion of 'suffusive-ness' (= presupposed homogeneity) does not only apply to spatial entities but also to temporal entities, ie, situations: cf. Vendler's (1967:101) characterization of 'activities' as being homogeneous in a way that achievements and accomplishments are not. This is particularly obvious with state propositions (containing, eg, love, know, understand, extend) where the denoted situation is understood to obtain in a uniform, non-variable way at each moment of a period of time (see § 4.6.1 on Verkuyl's observation, 1972:57, on 'mapping into the time-axis'). Hence the modification of activity and state propositions with for-adverbials. Bounded NPs do not presuppose spatial homogeneity (an egg, an apple); they can, apart from proper nouns (= 'uniqueness of reference'), be pluralized: apples, eggs. Similarly, telic predicates can take the plural affix: play rounds of snooker, play organ concertos. Furthermore, they are temporally not homogeneous: we cannot assert that at each moment over a period of time all the defining features of the denoted

situation are present in a uniform and non-variable way. The attainment of the goal implicit in the meaning of the predicate makes these predicates different from atelic constructions (hence the modification of border-crossing and accomplishment propositions with in-adverbials). Thus it has become apparent that it makes no longer sense to talk about telic and atelic verbs or even predicates (cf. Garey 1957, Allen 1966) but that it is the (un)boundedness of the nominal categories and the (a)telicness of the verbal categories (together with other contextual elements) that constitute together, at the level of sentence, the aspectual categories of (im)perfectivity. Semantically speaking, it is the situation, the event or state, as denoted by the whole proposition that is either 'bounded' or 'unbounded'.<sup>1</sup>

Notice again that non-variable state propositions, which are normally not compatible with the EF, do not enter the binary aspect-opposition (contrary to events and processes). As 'a-temporalized' (Verkuyl) situations they are inherently 'unbounded' temporal entities which are not 'mapped into the time-axis' in the same way as events and processes are. They are conceptualized as temporally 'non-variable' properties on a given subject argument: love, know, consist of, etc. Just as bounded NPs can be pluralized, bounded events can be 'pluxalized' too (= iteration).<sup>2</sup> This also explains why certain accomplishment sentences, in conjunction with for-adverbials, are not acceptable in their single-event reading, whereas they pass in their iterative

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1. Whereas '(im)perfectivity' is a fairly well-accepted 'grammatical' term, I do not want to employ it for purely semantic characterizations, as it has other connotations associated with it. I therefore prefer to use the 'less loaded' term '(un)bounded'.
  2. Notice that Russian imperfective aspect and the Romance 'imperfects' are used for iteration too.



interpretation (see § 5.6.3).

#### 4.8 Temporal adverbials

4.8.1 With Reichenbach (1947:288) we will distinguish:

- i) the point of speech,
- ii) the point of the event,
- iii) the point of reference.

However, the English tense system has only got two points of reference, with the present and past tense forms constituting the 'zero tenses' for discursive and narrative speech respectively.

Cf. Nehls (1974:48) for the same observation and a valuable 'reversal' of Weinrich's hypothesis in relation to DS and NS and their respective zero tenses (see § 2.3.1 and footnote p.19):

"Weil Sachverhalte, die besprochen werden, in der Regel ihre Bezugszeit in der realen oder vorgestellten Zeitstufe der Gegenwart haben, verwendet man zu ihrer sprachlichen Realisierung das Präsens. Weil andererseits Sachverhalte, die erzählt werden, ihre Bezugszeit in der realen oder vorgestellten Zeitstufe der Vergangenheit haben, verwendet man zu ihrer sprachlichen Realisierung das Präteritum" (Nehls 1974:24).

The primary point of reference ( $PR_1$ ) of any tense system is the moment of speaking, since the act of speaking can be observed by the hearer too. The time of locution serves as the primary point of reference for both speaker and hearer (cf. Bull 1960:7f). It is not simultaneous with the act of observation or the actual experiencing of the event. A secondary point of reference ( $PR_2$ ) can be established by spelling out adverbially a definite point or period of time prior to the moment of speaking. In main clauses this adverbial then serves as a secondary point of reference for more than one sentence (cf. Nehls 1974:46f for observations on the 'sequence of tenses'). In E,



PR<sub>2</sub> is associated with preterite tense forms. The latter are obligatory even in the context of DS if there is an adverbial modification of 'definite time' present (contrary to G). Making use of Reichenbach's third 'time point', the point of the event, we can characterize the use of preterite tense forms as follows: only PR<sub>1</sub> lies in the 'present' (time), whereas PR<sub>2</sub> and 'point of the event' lie in the past. Cf. Allen (1966:155ff, Leech 1971: 36f) on the notion of 'identifiedness' or 'definiteness' of events in time (hence the obligatory use of preterite tense forms in E) and its semantic parallelism to the system of identification in NPs:

(2.90) I know a man down in the Grassmarket. The man/he drinks a bottle of whisky every day.

(2.91) A: 'I haven't seen John for some time'.

B: 'Oh, he died last week/on Tuesday'.

A: 'Pity, he was such a nice chap. He laughed and joked all the time'.

'Common focus' (Bull 1960:27) between speaker and hearer, ie, implicitly understood reference to a definite or identified time, also accounts for the use of the preterite:

(2.92) Did you hear the postman knock? (if both speaker and hearer 'know' that he comes every morning at 8 am sharp).

The use of the present perfect tense forms, on the other hand, is characterized by both PR<sub>1</sub> and PR<sub>2</sub> lying in the present, whereas the 'point of the event' lies in the past (cf. Jespersen's notion of 'retrospective present'). It is crucial for an understanding of the use of the E present perfect tense forms to distinguish between the 'point of the event' (ie, an event has occurred or a

state has existed in the past, that is, before the time of locution) and the (secondary) point of reference which coincides with the time of speaking, which is to say that an event occurred or a state obtained at some unidentified time in the past but in a period leading up to now (the time of locution). It will be argued later that the so-called 'continuative perfect' is a secondary interpretation depending on contextual elements, with certain modifiers often being elliptical in ordinary discourse (see § 5.3.2.5). Essentially there is no such thing as a 'resultative' and a 'continuative perfect' but only one 'basic function' of have + en.

4.8.2 Following Leech (1969) we will distinguish temporal adverbials of 'time-when', 'frequency' and 'duration'. Cf. also Crystal's (1966) list of adverbial modifiers. The following classificatory scheme is suggested:<sup>1</sup>

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1. This is an extension and modification of a scheme suggested by Corder 1974, mimeo.

Occurring at a point of time	Absolute	Definite			at 3 pm on January 1st 1972, at the beginning of 1972
		Indefinite			at the age of 10, at some time, (at) any time/moment, at a moment of crisis, on retiring, around 9 o'clock, at dawn/daybreak, at the end of the day
	Relative	PR <sub>1</sub>	anterior simultaneous posterior		a moment ago; then right now, this moment/instant/second any moment now; then
		PR <sub>2</sub>	(= previous explicit time reference required, time referred to is simultaneous with explicit time reference)		at that time/moment/instant, (only) then, at such a time, at that age, at the (same) time, (just) at this/that juncture/period/point
Occurring during some specific period of time	Absolute	Definite			on Armistice Day, during the Great War, during her pregnancy, in the Middle Ages; at the Coronation, at his wedding, at Christmas (= periods!)
		Indefinite	(= unspecified as to present, past or future)		while bathing, during a snowstorm, at night, by day/night, in the morning/afternoon, in (the) day time, in 5 days time, in the early stages/hours of X, late one evening/night, one day, (on) (some) other occasions/days, (at) other times, sometime ((or)(an)other)), sooner or later, in 5/a few minutes
	Relative	PR <sub>1</sub>	anterior	recent	just/only now, lately, latterly, recently; (just), (now) yesterday (week/fortnight/morning), last Monday/January/
				non-recent	week/year, 3 days ago/back, earlier this week; this Monday, this morning (if spoken in afternoon); on Monday, in January
			simultaneous	always include PR <sub>1</sub>	variable stretch of time: at present, at the moment, at the/this present time, currently, nowadays, (in) these modern times, these days (= today, now) week/month: this week, this January, this year etc.
				need not include PR <sub>1</sub>	day time periods: this morning, this afternoon, this evening, tonight, today days: this Monday etc.
Occurring at a time or in a period before or after some specific point or period of time	Absolute	Definite	before/after		before/after 1972/the Great War/the Coronation, his wedding
		Indefinite	before/after		before/after getting married, before/after meals
	Relative	PR <sub>1</sub>	before after		(long) before now, not yet, by now hereafter, henceforth, hereupon, forthwith, by this evening
		PR <sub>2</sub>	before after		(long) before then, by then/that time thereupon, upon which, thereafter, whereupon, thenceforth
		not exclusively marked for either PR <sub>1</sub> or PR <sub>2</sub>	before		beforehand, (very much) earlier (on) (in the week/summer), in advance, previous to this/that, (very much) sooner (than X), a day earlier, in the month before X, preceding, on the day before X, in the previous/preceding month, the day/month before, some time/years before/earlier/sooner
			after		immediately (after(wards)), instantly, next, then (= next), straight away, presently, a short while after (wards)/later, (with) in a short while, just/soon/shortly after (wards), later (on)(in the week), finally, eventually, at last, in the end/long run, ultimately, subsequently, after this/that, after a time/while, afterwards, at a later/subsequent time/period, in due course/time, a day later/after (wards), after a few days, (with) in a day (or two), (with) in a matter of days, in the following month, in the week afterwards/following, on the next/following day, years/some time later

Fig. 3: Time 'when' adverbials

Absolute frequency (= number of times)		once	once, on one occasion, on the sole/the only/a single occasion, the one/only/one and only time/(just) this once twice, on three occasions
			never, not once, not at all, on no occasion, at no time/period, not-ever, not any more/longer, no longer
			always, constantly, ceaselessly, continually, continuously, endlessly, everlastingly, for ever, for good, incessantly, permanently, perpetually; every minute of the day, all the time, all one's/his life, the whole time, to the end of time
Relative frequency (=number of times in some period)	Irregular	Non-Comparative	often, frequently, with great frequency, over and over (again), time and (time) again, 9 times out of 10, many times(over), many a time, repeatedly, a large number of times, as much/many/often as this/that, at all hours of the day/night
			sometimes, at times, at various times/periods, at intervals, at random, from time to time, intermittently, irregularly
			occasionally, off and on, once in a while, spasmodically, a few times, (every) now and then/again
			rarely, seldom, not (very) often, once or twice, infrequently, almost never (at all), hardly/scarcely/barely ever/at all
			mostly, generally, usually, as usual, as a rule, ordinarily, normally, almost/nearly always, almost each/every day, commonly, for the large/most part, on most occasions/mornings/Mondays
	Regular	Comparative	at regular/periodic intervals/stages, at fixed/stated intervals/times, alternately, cyclically, habitually, in cycles, in turns/rotation, in (quick) succession, periodically, recurrently, regularly
			once a week, daily, day and night, day by day, each/every day/morning, every other day/morning, fortnightly, hourly, twice a year, 5 times a day, once a day, monthly, weekly, yearly, in Aprils, on Mondays, morning after morning, in winter

Fig. 4: Adverbs of frequency



Period measured in units	'FOR'	Absolute	Definite (= limits of unit are known)	intervals based on cosmic/cultural events: for the War, during the Great Flood, throughout her reign, during the French Revolution unique calendar units: for the whole of 1972 non-unique calendar units: for a day/hour/week/month/year/summer
			Indefinite (= limits of unit are not known)	for ages, indefinitely, briefly, permanently, for a moment, momentarily, (for) some time, for a long time/while, temporarily, en passant, all along, for as much/long as, for many a day, for weeks, (for) a short time, for years, (for) (ever) so long
		Relative (to PR <sub>1</sub> or PR <sub>2</sub> )	Definite	all (this) day/week, all these days/weeks, for the whole year, for the night/morning, all (the) year round, all day long, during the morning, for the duration of the night, most of the day, most of Monday, tomorrow, over the night, overnight, 5 days running, all through the day, throughout the night
			Indefinite	all this/that time, in the meantime, during the/this/that time/interval, meanwhile, during the same time, within that time, for the present, for the time being, for the moment, for now, for much/most of the time, all along
Period delimited by specific starting or finishing-point	'TILL' =starting point indefinite, end-point specific  'FROM' = specific starting-point, indefinite end-point  'SINCE' = specific starting-point, endpoint PR <sub>1</sub> or PR <sub>2</sub> is understood	Absolute		till 1972, till the Coronation; up until his wedding
		Relative (to PR <sub>1</sub> or PR <sub>2</sub> )		(up) till now/then, hitherto, so far, (as) yet, not yet, recently, lately
		Absolute		from 1972, from the 16th century; from the first/beginning
		Relative (to PR <sub>1</sub> or PR <sub>2</sub> )		from now/then (on), for the future, hence, henceforward, hereafter, thereafter, from this/that time/moment (on), henceforth, in (the) future
		Absolute		since the Coronation, since my wedding, since 1970
		Relative (to PR <sub>1</sub> or PR <sub>2</sub> )		(ever) since then, since last week, since before a week ago

Fig. 5: Adverbs of duration

## 5. The description of German learners' language

### 5.1 Syntactic tests for the four proposition types

#### 5.1.1 Scalar tensors and inclusive adverbials (for vs. in):

Border-crossing propositions denote a situation happening at a unique and definite instant of time. They answer the question At what time did X ...? (eg, : At what time did Barry detect the fault?) The moment of time at which the change-of-state takes place need not be overtly stated but can be implied. They can also co-occur with adverbials denoting a period of time within which something happens (= 'inclusive' adverbials). The adverbials of the in- type are actually ambiguous in that they function either as a definite time - when adverbial denoting a period of time (eg, in 1974) or as an inclusive adverbial with the event occurring either at the end of a certain period of time or during/within a period of time from the respective point of reference onwards (eg, in: I shall leave in 5 minutes). Border-crossings co-occur with inclusive adverbials but not with durational for - adverbials (= Bull's 'scalar tensors', 1960:14f):

(3.1) Barry detected the fault in a few seconds.

(3.2)\* Barry detected the fault for a few seconds.

Activity propositions, on the other hand, can be modified by durational for- adverbials. They answer the question For how long did X ...?

(3.3) Bob ran for an hour.

(3.4)\* Bob ran in an hour.

Sentence (3.4) is, however, acceptable if it is understood as expressing inception: Bob began to run in an hour. The use of the EF does not yield this interpretation:

(3.5)\* Bob was running in an hour.



Similarly with point of time adverbials:

- (3.6) When one ship met the other ( $\Rightarrow$  one) they put the cables together ( $\Rightarrow$  they joined the cables) and put them into the water. Then they sailed home (NS/R, Cable) (= 'then they began to sail home').

The majority of the students do not seem to be aware of this inceptive reading. They interpret these sentences as ongoing activity which began already before the stated point of time:

(3.7) Test sentence: CI - N = 42		Yes	No	?	-
Bob ran at noon.					
a)	Bob hörte um 12 Uhr mit dem Laufen auf.	5	36	0	1
b)	Bob begann um 12 Uhr mit dem Laufen.	7	32	0	3
c)	Bob war um 12 Uhr mitten beim Laufen.	33	7	1	1
d)	Bob ist bereits vor 12 Uhr gelaufen und läuft auch noch nach 12.	29	11	0	2

Table 13: Activity predicate and point-of time adverbial: inception

We can generalize this observation as regards the inceptive interpretation of certain utterances as follows:

- i) when a durative proposition co-occurs with a point of time adverbial the situation denoted by the proposition is understood as having begun at that point of time,
- ii) when a period of time adverbial co-occurs with a durative proposition where the situation denoted is 'known' (= pragmatic matter) to be more extended in duration than the period denoted by the adverbial the situation is understood as having begun at some point during the specified interval (and as still continuing after this interval):

- (3.8) The Monsoon rains at last! They poured down this Sunday. (= 'the rains started on Sunday and continued to splash down after that').

Durative accomplishment propositions do not denote a situation as occurring at a specific moment of time but over a certain period of time. If we want to refer to an accomplishment proposition as a 'complete' three -state journey we cannot ask the question: At what time did X do Z?:

(3.9)\* At what time did Jack learn the poem?

(3.10)\* He learnt it at midnight.

The usual interpretation of accomplishment sentences modified by point of time adverbials is that its inceptive phase is referred to:

(3.11) I played the Pathetique at 10 pm last night (= 'I began to play at 10 pm')

Durative accomplishments co-occur both with scalar tensors and inclusive adverbials:

(3.12) Jack learnt Tam o' Shanter for an hour.

(3.13) Jack learnt Tam o' Shanter in an hour.

With accomplishment (and bordercrossing) propositions we can assert that the resultant state came about in the period denoted by the inclusive adverbial. See § 5.4.2.2 for the different readings of sentences containing scalar temporals. Situations denoted by state propositions last for a period of time. They therefore answer the the temporal question: For how long did X ...?:

(3.14) Dave lay on the grass for two hours.

(3.15) Sean belonged to the IRA for two years.

They are usually not modified by inclusive adverbials. If predicates like know, see, etc co-occur with in- adverbials the sentences are understood as bordercrossing propositions:<sup>1</sup>

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1. We may wonder whether eg, see (state) and see (bordercrossing) are different lexical items or cases of polysemy.

(3.16) ... (and suddenly) he knew the answer.

(3.17) ... and at that moment he saw the real value  
of the thing.

Other state propositions modified by in- adverbials (with the reading 'at the end of a period of time') are understood as the inception of the state denoted by the proposition. Notice the use of the SF with this kind of bordercrossing:

(3.18) Sean was determined to get out of the slums of  
Belfast. He worked like a madman and in five years  
{he lived in a beautiful mansion in county Donegal}  
{he was president of Unilver in the province}

5.1.2 It took X an hour vs. X spent an hour: These contexts are rather similar test frames (to the ones discussed in 5.1.1) for distinguishing the four 'basic' types of propositions. Bordercrossings occur in the frame It took X a certain period of time but not X spent a certain period of time:

(3.19) It took Barry a few seconds to detect the fault.

(3.20)\* Barry spent a few seconds detecting the fault.

As a 'true' bordercrossing ('change-of-state coming about at an instant of time') (3.20) is unacceptable. The utterance is (marginally) acceptable if it is interpreted as something like 'Barry spent a few seconds doing something until he detected the fault'. See § 5.2.1.2 on the alternative reading of many bordercrossing predicates in terms of 'try and V'. Activity propositions occur in the context X spent a certain period of time:

(3.21) Bob spent an hour running.

(3.22)\* It took Bob an hour to run.

Accomplishment predicates can be found in either test frame which is not to say that the interpretation is one of an accomplishment

proposition in both cases:

(3.23) It took Jack an hour to learn Tam o' Shanter.

(3.24) Jack spent an hour learning Tam o' Shanter.

Notice also the following error:

(3.25)\* In former times it lasted ( $\Rightarrow$ took) the whole day  
to clean the house (DS/FE, Woman).

Contrary to variable state propositions which can occur in the  
test frame X spent a certain period of time:

(3.26) John spent two hours lying on the grass.

(3.27) John spent two years living in London.

non-variable state propositions, in denoting situations which are  
inherently unbounded temporal entities, cannot occur in this  
environment:

(3.28)\* Mary spent ten years loving her husband.

(3.29)\* Dave spent five years owning a Volkswagen.

5.1.3 Termination and cessation: Durative activity propositions  
in denoting 'homogeneous', 'temporalized' (Verkuyl) but unbounded  
situations have no implication of a 'goal' or 'completion', in  
the sense of 'bringing something into existence', a result or a  
change-of-state. Therefore one cannot in general use the marker  
of terminative aktionsart with them:

(3.30)\* Mary finished laughing/smiling.<sup>1</sup>

Neither can bordercrossing and state propositions function as  
complements of finish:

(3.32)\* Barry {has not yet finished  
finished} detecting the fault.

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1. There are difficulties with sentences like:

(3.31) Mary finished eating/reading/singing.

and potentially with many other activity predicates. These are  
probably elliptical forms of proper accomplishment propositions  
(= 'pseudo-intransitive' predicates), eg, Mary sang a song, Mary  
ate a meal/an apple. See § 5.4.1.

(3.33)\* Dave finished lying on the grass<sup>1</sup>/living in London.

(3.34)\* Dave finished hearing music/loving his wife/being president of the tennis club.

Genuine bordercrossing situations with the change-of-state happening at an instant of time cannot be stopped:

(3.35)\* Barry stopped detecting the fault.

Activity and state situations, on the other hand, can have a cessative phase:

(3.36) Bob stopped running/smiling/laughing.

(3.37) Dave stopped lying on the grass/living in London

(3.38) Dave ceased to hear music/love his wife/be president of the tennis club.

These sentences imply that the denoted situation was in existence before the point of cessation:

$$(3.39) \quad x \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{stopped } v_{act} \text{ -ing} \\ \text{ceased to } v_{st} \end{array} \right\} \text{ at } t \supset x \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} v_{act} \text{ -ed} \\ \text{was } v_{act} \text{ -ing} \end{array} \right\} \\ v_{st} \text{ -ed} \end{array} \right\} < t^2$$

Accomplishments as bounded situations have a terminal point, a goal, towards which the action denoted by the proposition proceeds. In the case of existential causatives and pseudo-intransitives an 'object' comes into existence or goes out of existence: concrete entities like a sandcastle are built or destroyed, in a more abstract sense concrete entities like a book or an apple are 'consumed' ('eating/reading/drinking matter' etc.), abstract

1. This is an acceptable utterance if Dave had been given the instruction to lie on the grass for a certain period of time. This then makes it a bounded situation that can or cannot be terminated.

2. < stands for 'before'.

entities like a round of snooker or a piano sonata are 'performed', ie, mapped into the time axis as bounded temporal entities. In other cases a specific distance is covered or someone/something comes to be at a different location or in a different state than 'before'. Both in the more concrete locative, directional sense and the more abstract existential sense these situations can be conceptualized as three-state journeys (E = existence, Loc= location,  $\rightarrow$  = directed movement,  $\cap$  = intersection):

(3.40)

Loc. at A	A $\rightarrow$ B	Loc. at B
non-E	$\overline{\text{non-E}} \cap \bar{E}$	E

Fig. 6: Three-state journey (cf. Jessen 1973:118)

This allows for 'partial existence' (in learning a poem, building a house, eating an apple, going from A to B etc.). Cf., for example, the lexicalizations: half-eaten, half-built, covered half the distance etc. Thus we can have cessation and termination of the process:

(3.41) John stopped learning the poem.

This implies that he was learning the poem, ie, he was at it (notice the use of the EF here), prior to the moment when he ceased doing so but that he has not yet learnt the whole poem:

(3.42)

$$X \text{ stopped } v_{\text{acc}} \text{ -ing at } t \supset \begin{cases} X \text{ was } v_{\text{acc}} \text{ -ing } > t \\ X \text{ has not } v_{\text{acc}} \text{ -ed} \end{cases}$$

Accomplishment propositions also occur as the complement of finish:

(3.43) John finished learning the poem.

This implies that he has learnt the whole poem:

(3.44) X finished  $v_{\text{acc}}$  - ing  $\supset$  X has  $v_{\text{acc}}$  - ed

Characterizing certain situations in terms of 'completeness' or 'incompleteness' (see § 4.4.2 for an account of Leech's connotations



of the EF) should thus be restricted to sentences containing accomplishment predicates. Only they can be interpreted in terms of whether a resultant state was brought about or not. Activity situations, on the other hand, should not be described in terms of 'incompleteness', since they can be pursued or prolonged 'indefinitely' (theoretically), possible lexicalizations being continue, go on, keep on, etc, or are stopped (cessation).

The learners react to the fundamental syntactic tests as follows:

No.	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object <sup>1</sup>
1	Peter ____ laughing.	stopped finished	36 6	1½ 31
2	Donald finished ____ .	detecting the fault painting the picture	6  36	22  3½
3	John stopped ____ .	building a sandcastle discovering a treasure	39  3	4  27½
4	He detected the fault ____ 5 minutes.	in for	41 1	2 40
5	David ran the 1000m ____ 3 minutes	for in	1 41	35 2½
6	It took Bob 10 minutes to ____ .	play the piano detect the fault	14 28	17½ 6
7	It took Bob 3 minutes to ____ .	lie on the sofa run the 1000m	3 39	32½ 3½
8	David spent the whole evening ____ .	discovering a treasure sitting at home	9  33	19½  4½

Table 14: Syntactic tests for proposition types

We can conclude from these figures that the learners have already internalized the basic syntactic tests for activity, variable state and accomplishment propositions. With bordercrossing predicates, however, the objection scores are rather high with some of these tests.

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1. Full rejection (X) is given one mark, uncertainty (?) is assigned half a mark: see instructions in § 2.3.

They can probably fruitfully be employed in helping the students to distinguish the different types of proposition (see § 6.3).

5.1.4 Interpretations with almost: Dowty (1972) observes an ambiguity with accomplishment predicates and almost which is absent with activity, state and bordercrossing predicates in this environment:

- (3.45) Mary almost danced.
- (3.46) Ian almost lived in London.
- (3.47) Ian almost owned a Jaguar.
- (3.48) Barry almost detected the fault.

The events or states denoted by these sentences did not, in fact, take place or exist:

$$(3.49) \quad X \text{ almost } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Vact -ed} \\ \text{V st -ed} \\ \text{Vbc -ed} \end{array} \right\} \supset X \text{ did not } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Vact} \\ \text{Vst} \\ \text{Vbc} \end{array} \right\}$$

In addition to this reading (Ian almost built a sandcastle  $\supset$  'Ian did not -even- begin to build a sandcastle') accomplishment predicates in conjunction with almost can have the interpretation that the goal was never 'quite' achieved: 'Ian did not quite finish building a sandcastle'. This is further evidence for the more complex semantic structure of accomplishment propositions.

5.1.5 Effects of negation: bordercrossing predicates become compatible with durational for and until - adverbials in the presence of negation:

- (3.50)\* Barry detected the fault for three hours/until noon.
- (3.51) Barry did not detect the fault for three hours/until noon.

The situations denoted by sentences like (3.51), ie, the non-occurrence of the change-of-state, are understood as a state continuing in a

homogeneous way throughout the period of time denoted by the adverbial. Activity and state predicates, however, are ambiguous in these contexts as to inception or cessation:

(3.52) Mary did not work for five months/until Christmas.

a)= 'Mary started working after a period of five months/at Christmas.'

b)= 'Mary stopped working at some point t before the end of a period of five months/before Christmas.'<sup>1</sup>

(3.53) Dave did not lie on the grass for five hours/until lunch.

(3.54) Dave did not own a Jaguar for five years/until 1974.

(3.55) Dave was not the champion for five years/until 1974.

a)= 'Dave began to Vst at the end of a certain period of time' (ie, he did not Vst at all during the specified period)

b)= 'Dave ceased to Vst sometime before the end of the specified period of time'<sup>2</sup>

Accomplishment predicates co-occurring with durational adverbs and negation are open to the following readings:

(3.57) Bob did not write a rock opera until Christmas.

---

2. Depending on the scope of the negation we can get additional interpretations, eg:

(3.56) John did not sleep for two hours.

a)= 'It was not two hours John slept but five'

b)= 'It was not sleep he did for two hours but something else'

a)= 'Bob started writing a rock opera at Christmas'.

b)= 'Bob finished writing a rock opera at Christmas'<sup>1</sup>

5.1.6 Modals: there seem to be close interdependencies between the basic preposition type, aspectual (= boundedness of the situation) and modal categories. However, a more thorough study of the phenomena involved here is beyond the scope of this study and I will therefore confine myself to but a few points (cf. for similar observations Ridjanović 1973:89).

The modal must, eg, in the context of an activity predicate is open to the interpretations 'obligation' and 'logical necessity':

(3.58) Paul must read a lot.

a)= obligation: '... or else he will fail his exam'

b)= logical necessity: '... this is why he knows so much'

(3.59) Jane must dance.

a)= obligation: '... or else the party will become dull'

b)= logical necessity: '... she must be a dancer', or  
'... and this is why she dances so well'

Accomplishment propositions usually restrict the interpretation of this modal to 'obligation' alone:

(3.60) I must read Leech's Semantic Description after all.

(3.61) Someone must assassinate the present ruler of Uganda.

If the situation denoted by the sentence is understood as unbounded, as in the iterative reading, the modal can again be interpreted in the two ways:

---

1. at Christmas is in both a) and b) a point of time. If it is conceptualized as a period of time we can interpret (3.57) also as 'Bob started and finished writing a rock opera at Christmas'.

(3.62) Paul must read a spy story every week.

(3.63) You must practise this concerto every day.

In state propositions the meaning of the modal is confined to 'logical necessity':

(3.64) Paul must love his wife.

In border-crossing propositions it is interpreted as 'obligation':

(3.65) Barry must detect the fault.

Modalized EFs in the context of unbounded situations have the reading of 'logical necessity' alone:

(3.66) Paul must be reading  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a lot} \\ \text{a spy story every week} \end{array} \right\}$  .

When the modal may occurs in a bordercrossing proposition it is interpretable only in its predictive sense, whereas activity and accomplishment propositions are open to both the epistemic and the permission-granting reading:

(3.67) Barry may detect the fault (= 'predictive' or  
'probability' alone, time reference to the future).

(3.68) Barry may look for the fault. (= 'predictive' and

(3.69) Ian may build a house. 'permission-granting')

Non-variable state propositions, in lacking an underlying DO, cannot be interpreted in terms of volition. Hence the 'permission-granting' reading is ruled out. Contrary to bordercrossing propositions, however, the time reference need not be confined to future time only:

(3.70) Paul may hate his wife (= 'predictive/probability')

Because of the element of volition inherent in agentive activity and accomplishment propositions the modal could cannot be substituted by would without a major change in meaning as seems more easily possible with state propositions proper (cf. Vendler 1967:105):

(3.71) I could tell the plot of the film (if I had seen it).

$\nexists$  'I would tell the plot of the film (if I had seen it)'.



Cf. the common expression: I would if I could but I can't. A similar relationship of non-implication holds with variable state propositions in this context:

(3.72) Dave could lie on the grass if he asked permission.

⚡ 'Dave would lie on the grass if he asked permission'.

Although semantically stative, variable states are 'under control' and hence susceptible to 'willingness' in a way non-variable states are not. Notice that non-variable state propositions modalized by could or would respectively are very close in meaning, although the modality involved here is not 'willingness' (as in 3.7.2) but 'prediction':

(3.73) David could/would hear what the speaker was saying if he spoke a bit louder.

(3.74) Dave could/would believe, as I do, that his wife is a real bitch if he only took the trouble to find out.

#### 5.1.7 Lakoff's and Lee's tests for stative vs. non-stative verbs:

agentive activity propositions accept Lakoff's tests for 'non-stative verbs':

- i) they occur in the EF,
- ii) they occur as complements of certain verbs of suasion like force, persuade and also causative have:
  - (3.75) Jim persuaded/forced Mary to run.
  - (3.76) Jim had Mary push the cart.
- iii) they can be used in imperatives: Run! Push the cart!
- iv) they occur with certain manner adverbials like carefully, deliberately, avidly, obediently, attentively, conscientiously, vigilantly, etc:
  - (3.77) Janice smoked pot deliberately/avidly.
- v) they can be followed by in order to:
  - (3.78) Bob danced wildly in order to impress Jane.



vi) they can take Instrumentals:

(3.79) Jerry walked with two crutches.

vii) they occur in pseudo-cleft constructions:

(3.80) What Harry did was run.

Lee (1969:41f) points out that Lakoff's tests cover at least two distinct semantic and distributional phenomena: 'agency' and 'process'. Accordingly he distinguishes A and P- tests, the latter being the incompatibility with the EF, the former all the others. The semantic property associated with 'agency' is 'purposiveness' (see § 4.5.1 for Dowty's meaning postulate for DO in terms of 'intention'), the one expressed by the EF 'process' (see § 4.1.6 for the same position held by Ota). Verbs like lie, stand, sit etc. (= our variable state predicates) are considered 'exceptions'. Lee's distinction is valuable since there are 'verbs' that fail the A- test but pass the P- test: non-agentive occurrences and accomplishments but also inchoative happenings cannot be characterized in terms of 'purposiveness', although they are dynamic processes (notion of 'ongoingness'). Thus all accomplishment propositions take the EF. They also occur in pseudo-clefts:

(3.81) What the Prime Minister's sudden death did was  
cause chaos in the government.

(3.82) What the fire/soldiers did was destroy the house.

Agentive accomplishments pass all of Lakoff's tests, non-agentive ones fail some of these:

(3.83) Heavy rain falls forced the council to build a  
dam for the local river.

(3.84)\* Fire carefully/deliberately destroyed the house.

(3.85)\* Destroy Rome, fire!

(3.86)\* The tumbling walls killed the people with a stone.<sup>1</sup>

(3.88)\* The lamppost crushed the passer-by in order to  
please the city council.<sup>2</sup>

Thus surface do is not the archi- marker of 'agentivity' (do also reduces state propositions containing verbs of posture). In other words, agentivity is a much more complex notion that was assumed by, eg, Fillmore (1968): cf. also Cruse 1973. One important distinction is Dowty's intentional and non-intentional agentivity, syntactic evidence being:

(3.90)\* Break the Buddha accidentally, Jack! ( $\neq$  stage directions)

(3.91)\* Jack broke the Buddha accidentally in order to spark off a row with his wife.

It is frequently 'only' the volitional element that matters: someone can be rude by refraining from 'doing anything' as in situations denoted by sentences such as John is being rude (see § 5.3.4.4), or a state of affairs can come about even if the subject 'does nothing' in terms of overtly observable behaviour:

(3.91) Train drivers caused chaos in the Southern  
Region by not going to work.

For 'inanimate agents' the intentional/non-intentional distinction is neutralized (the weather and computers may be exceptions). They can become 'doers' by virtue of their occurrence-character (= 'inherent

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1. Cf, however, with relational nouns:

(3.87) The spear made a hole in the shield with its point.

2. Cf, however, (3.89) which would not seem to involve 'purpose' but 'explanation':

(3.89) The car had to break through the hedge in order to reach this point. (= 'it could not have reached this point if it had not broken through the hedge')

determining force': see § 4.5.1, footnote p. 109): howling winds, falling tiles, whizzing bullets, etc. Thus they occur in the pseudo-cleft and can function as the subject complement of non-agentive accomplishment propositions (if so used they 'effect' something).

True bordercrossing propositions usually fail the standard tests for 'volitional agency' (see above (i) - (vii)). There are, however, problems with the Instrumental and the imperative test. Thus we can have:

- (3.92) Barry detected the fault { \*with a chisel  
  with an oscilloscope }

'Bordercrossing' predicates occur regularly in formal instructions, eg:

- (3.93) If X fails to operate discover the reason and  
          correct it!

Notice, however, that the interpretation of these predicates is now one of 'Try and V-!':

- (3.94) Find your seats please!  
(3.95) Catch a mouse and dissect it!

These are not genuine bordercrossing propositions (= instantaneous changes-of-state): see § 5.2.1.2. Difficulties also arise with the test involving manner adverbials which, according to Ryle (1949), do not occur with bordercrossing propositions (Ryle's 'lucky achievements'). The problem with these adverbials is that they may 'modify' the whole proposition or just the predicate. Thus we get:

- (3.96)\* Barry carefully detected the fault.  
(3.97) Obediently Barry found the book (= 'in obedience  
          to X's wishes Barry tried and found the book')

As with (3.93) - (3.95) the interpretation is 'try and V', these

are not bordercrossing propositions in our definition.

We have to distinguish, as was pointed out before, between variable and non-variable state propositions. Variable state propositions, despite their compatibility with the EF, are semantically 'non-agentive' (in the sense that the participant referred to by the subject NP does not perform or carry out an 'action'). They resist the at it- reduction (see § 5.3.4.4), just like non-variable states:

- (3.98)\* John/the book was lying on the grass when I saw  
him/it last, and he/it is probably still at it now.
- (3.99)\* John is living in London at the moment, and if he  
does not get this new job in Manchester he'll  
probably be at it next year too.

If these predicates are not understood as 'actions', ie, 'go and V', they cannot occur in the pseudo-cleft construction:

- (3.100)\* What John did was lie on the grass/live in London.

The fact that they are non-dynamic is also shown by their resistance to the periphrasis with be in the process of (just like non-variable states):

- (3.101)\* John/the book is in the process of lying on the grass.
- (3.102)\* John is in the process of living in London these days.

Variable state predicates are understood as 'go and V', when they do occur in these test frames for 'non-stative verbs' which usually denote 'intentionality', eg:

- (3.103) John forced/persuaded his wife to lie on the grass/  
live in London.
- (3.104) Lie over there, on the grass!
- (3.105) Live in Devon, it's warmer down there!
- (3.106) John was standing in front of Buckingham Palace

in order to watch the Change of the Guards.

- (3.107) John was living in London in order to keep  
his wife happy.

The variable states denoted by the last two sentences can be considered the 'result' of unexpressed actions. Non-variable state propositions are normally compatible with these 'intentional' test frames:

- (3.108)\* Henry forced/persuaded Jack to possess a Jaguar.

- (3.109)\* Why not possess a Jaguar, Jack?

- (3.110)\* Jack possessed a Jaguar deliberately/reluctantly.

Non-variable state propositions usually resist expansion (see however § 5.5.6 - 5.5.9 for a discussion of the conditions under which they do take the EF) and do not occur in pseudo-clefts:

- (3.111)\* I am hearing music.

- (3.112)\* I am loving my wife.

- (3.113)\* What I do is hear music/love my wife.

The situations denoted by these propositions are not processes going on in time.

5.1.8 Summary: the criteria for distinguishing proposition types are summarized in Fig. 7:







## 5.2 Happening propositions

### 5.2.1 Bordercrossing propositions

5.2.1.1 The defining property of genuine bordercrossing situations is that they happen at a unique and definite instant of time involving a transition between contiguous states. They do not allow for a partial intermediate state, the two states are negations of each other. Thus arrive and reach is 'to go from a state of not-being at a particular place to a state of being at that place', with depart (from) and leave being their inverses. Similar pairs are find/discover and lose, where the former can be glossed as 'going from a state of not-having or not-knowing the location or existence of an object to a state of having or knowing this'. Lose then is the bordercrossing from 'have' to 'not-have'. Find out and realize would be something like 'come to know something one did not know before' (cf. also Dowty 1972). 'Knowing something first and then go to a state of not-knowing' would be forget. Remember is the transition from 'a state of not having the memory of something to a state of having the memory of something':

(4.1) ... and suddenly he forgot her name.

(4.2) Now I remember your name.<sup>1</sup>

- 
1. Predicates like forget and remember cannot only be used in bordercrossing propositions. They also occur in:
- i) (non-variable) state propositions ('have (not) in mind' or 'be in the state of having (lost) the memory/knowledge of something'), the SF is required here:
    - (4.3) I remember the Berlin blockade very well.
    - (4.4) I have forgotten my Latin.
  - ii) activity propositions ('calls to mind' or 'cause to come (not) to be in mind'); the EF is obligatory in denoting the 'ongoingness of the volitive or 'conscious' mental effort:
    - (4.5) I am remembering the whole event, bit by bit.
    - (4.6) I want to forget this nasty affair. And I am forgetting it.
  - iii) inchoative happening propositions ('gradual 'unconscious' process of gaining or losing the memory of something'), either form is possible
    - (4.7) I am (gradually) remembering the whole film.
    - (4.8) I am (gradually) forgetting all my Latin.

Win a race would require for someone to be ahead of the other competitors at a specific (terminal) point (see § 5.2.1.4 for different lexicalizations in G in relation to the selection of SF or EF). Get married is the transgression from the state of 'not-being married' to the state of 'being married', ie, a state one was not in before. The two contiguous successive states denoted by a bordercrossing proposition can be linguistically encoded by non-gradable adjectives only: unmarried vs. married (for get married), alive vs. dead (for die), moving vs. not-moving/stationary (for stop) etc.

5.2.1.2 The problem with most E bordercrossing predicates (Vbc) is that they can also take on an accomplishment reading by lexicalizing the process 'try and V<sub>bc</sub>'. This is the case with such predicates as find (a book or: a remedy), catch (a ball or: a mouse/prisoner), obtain a better view, attain perfection, reach the top, succeed etc, but also with detect, discover, identify etc, where the denoted situation (change-of-state) is -probably - more commonly conceptualized as happening 'by chance'. Thus find has the two readings:

- i) 'to encounter something by chance',
- ii) 'to come upon something after a search', or: 'the result of seeking'.

These two readings are apparent in the following utterance by a student:

- (4.9) I find (= 'come across by chance') many 'no-parking' signs in the city but I find (= 'seek and obtain') for my motor cycle always a place (DS/FE, Car).

As was pointed out in § 5.1.7, (3.93) - (3.95), the use of the imperative with these predicates (Find the book!) is interpreted as 'Go/try and find the book'. This has a different lexicalization in

G, with suchen denoting the action of seeking itself: Such das Buch! Not: \*Finde das Buch! The actual bordercrossing is always finden in G: Er fand das Buch nach einer langen Suche. Thus we can say with these predicates with an "associated accomplishment sense" (Dowty):

(4.10) Ian succeeded in finding the house/solution to X.

(4.11) Ian helped Mary to find the house/the solution to X.

However, these predicates cannot be used with the EF:

(4.12) \* Hahn was finding { the book  
the solution to the problem of  
atomic fission }

Here we have an incompatibility between the bordercrossing interpretation of find (which is still valid even if it was the result of a search) and the function of the EF in denoting progressive aktionsart or 'ongoingness'. Notice also that find, detect, identify, etc, are always distinguishable from 'true' accomplishment predicates (build a house, write a letter), since they do not complement markers of cessation and termination:

(4.13)\* Hahn { stopped  
finished } finding { the book  
the solution to the problem  
of atomic fission }

Similar considerations are valid for the locative bordercrossings arrive at and reach which can also be subject to volition ('go/try and  $V_{bc}$ '). If the bordercrossing is a 'happy accident' as with propositions containing such goal-incorporating predicates like detect, spot and recognize, the referent of the subject NP cannot be 'accused' or 'made responsible' for the event denoted by the proposition (cf. Vendler 1967:105f). Seek is always voluntary; find, catch, notice, discover, detect, meet etc. can be involuntary changes-of-state (Ryle's 'purely lucky achievements').

5.2.1.3 Bordercrossing propositions in conjunction with inclusive

adverbials have a specific semantic implication (cf. Vendler 1967: 104f). The truth of the sentence:

(4.14) Barry detected the fault in ten seconds.

does not entail that Barry was detecting the fault throughout the whole period denoted by the adverbial, or in other words: "at any moment of that period" (Vendler):

(4.15)  $X + V_{bc} -ed \text{ in } y \text{ time} \not\Rightarrow X + was V_{bc} -ing \text{ at all } t \text{ during } y$

5.2.1.4 There seem to be counter-examples against this very general claim. Let us imagine that someone received a serious injury in an accident and takes several hours to die. Surely, we can then say, in E, for any instant during this period: X is dying. This is, however, a peculiarity of the E lexeme die which denotes both the bordercrossing situation and the inchoative process of gradual and successive changes-of-state towards the actual 'transition' from the absolute state of 'being alive' to the absolute state of 'being dead'. The two denotations are differentiated lexically in G and are not substitutable in specific contexts. The 'true' bordercrossing in G is versterben, which can never be used with durational adverbials or their 'paraphrases' (last for):

(4.16)\* Der Fahrer des VW verstarb eine Woche lang.

(4.17)\* Das Versterben des VW-Fahrers dauerte eine Woche.

(4.18) 

Existence 'be alive'	→	non-Existence 'be not-alive'
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If we want to encode the idea of 'going towards non-Existence' we can employ, in G, the unambiguous expression im Sterben liegen:

(4.19) 

Existence →	non-Existence
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The notion that the bordercrossing has not yet taken place is expressed in E by using the EF. This is the semantically most significant function of this form in relation to the type of -



goal-incorporating - situation/proposition. The selection of the EF with this type of predicate implies the idea of 'directed movement' (cf. the colloquial expressions with verbs of movement: pass away, kaputt gehen etc) towards a point of transition. An utterance like John is dying is probably only felicitous if the speaker assumes that the actual bordercrossing will take place in the 'foreseeable' future. The semantically important thing is that at a particular point of reference the transition between the two contiguous states has not yet occurred:

- (4.20)     The driver was dying when I found him on the road.  
             { He only had 20 minutes more to live.  
             { But somehow he recovered and is now in his old job again. }

Bordercrossing predicates in the simple past tense form, however, always imply 'transition' or negation of the 'previous' state. The SF is therefore unacceptable in contexts in which the change to the 'later' state has not yet come about (similarly with drown):

- (4.21)\*     The driver died when I found him on the road. But  
             somehow he recovered and is now in his old job again.  
(4.22)\*     Der Fahrer verstarb, als ich ihn auf der Strasse  
             fand. Aber irgendwie erholte er sich und macht jetzt  
             wieder seine alte Arbeit.

Consider also the possibility of using a metaphorical form in G in order to avoid a counter-factual relationship between the two events denoted by sentences containing versterben and schreiben:

- (4.23)     He was writing in it when he died (HM 260)  
             Er schrieb darin, als ihn der Tod ereilte.

There seems to be syntactic evidence for distinguishing 'genuine' bordercrossing situations/propositions as exemplified by spot, recognize and detect (the 'happy accidents') from those which are

understood as involving gradual changes-of-state before the actual momentary transition (die, arrive, stop etc.). The latter can, the former cannot be used attributively:

- (4.24) the dying man, the arriving train, etc.  
(4.25)\* the spotting man, the detecting scientist, the finding child, etc.

There are other periphrastic means in G for expressing the notion that the resultant state has not yet come about, in correspondence to the use of the EF in E; eg, the adverbials eben, gerade and/or the locative verbal-noun construction:

- (4.26) 'Let's go home'. - 'We can't. Here's Mrs Castle's car arriving' (HM:27).  
Da kommt gerade Mrs Castle in ihrem Wagen.  
(4.27) She buttoned her coat as we went into the kitchen, as though she were leaving the house instead of just going in (LDR:75).  
... als wäre sie gerade im Weggehen.  
(4.28) He said to himself: I am waking up, and heard ... (HM:236).  
... Ich bin eben beim Erwachen ...

Sometimes the choice between SF and EF finds different verbal lexicalizations in G for achieving translation equivalence. Thus we have in the case of win a race:

- (4.29) David Jenkins was winning the 400 metres when .../  
until ...  
D.J. führte das 400m Rennen an/er führte in dem Rennen, bis ...  
(4.30) David Jenkins won the 400 metres.  
D.J. gewann das 400m Rennen.

The entailments with bordercrossing situations involving or



'allowing' a gradual approach towards the final transition into a resultant state are:

(4.31) X was dying when ...  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \cancel{\exists} X \text{ died (= was dead) at implied } t \\ \supset X \text{ had been dying up to implied } t \end{array} \right\}$

(4.32) X has been dying (now) for five hours<sup>1</sup>  
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \supset X \text{ is still dying} \\ \cancel{\exists} X \text{ has died (= is dead)} \end{array} \right\}$

(4.34) X (has) died  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \supset X \text{ is dead} \\ \cancel{\exists} X \text{ is still dying} \end{array} \right\}$

(4.35) X is dying  $\supset$  X has not died yet (= is not dead yet)

Cf. also:

(4.36) The boat is arriving  $\supset$  The boat has not arrived yet  
(ie, it is not at the pier yet, it is still 'moving';  
G: einlaufen, gelangen).

(4.37) The train is stopping  $\supset$  The train has not stopped yet  
(ie, it is not stationary yet, it is still 'moving';  
G: langsam zum Stehen Kommen).

Notice that approach, contrary to arrive, in the simple preterite tense form does not imply a bordercrossing but only 'directed movement towards'. It does not incorporate a goal, as does the inherently 'telic' arrive.

Thus Vendler is wrong when he claims (1967:102) that 'achievements' (= bordercrossings) do not take the EF. On the contrary, the selection of the EF has a specific semantic effect with these predicates in that it renders the denoted situation 'unbounded', as a process going on at a particular point of time:

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1. These expanded predicates in co-occurrence with a scalar tensor would appear to be in general only marginally acceptable:  
(4.33) ? The train was/has been arriving for 20 minutes.

- (4.38) The plank/window/marriage is breaking.  
(4.39) The paint of my car is losing its shine.  
(4.40) Mexico is losing its political stability (BBC).

Examples like these also invalidate Fillmore's (1968) hypothesis that 'progressive aspect' can only be selected if there is an Agentive in the case frame.

There is an important comment to be made about the 'implications' with simple present perfect and preterite tense forms: we should, where possible, clearly distinguish between semantic (or logical) implication (= entailment), on the one hand, and factual implication on the other (cf. Leech 1970:348). Thus only the implication in (4.41) and (4.42) is a semantic one:

- (4.41) The car has arrived  $\supset$  It is (now) here.  
(4.42) The string has broken  $\supset$  It is broken (now).

Discourses like (4.43) involve factual, not semantic implication:

- (4.43) The window has broken. Now I am cold/now I sit in the cold.

This question will be taken up again in § 5.4.2.4 in the discussion of the E perfect tense forms.

The idea of a gradual approach towards a bordercrossing is also present with expanded bordercrossing predicates containing a locative adverbial (up, down, out etc):

- (4.44) The strength <sup>in</sup>is his arm was giving out.

Die Kraft in seinem Arm liess nach.

The SF implies the transition into a resultant state (= boundedness of the situation):

- (4.46) The strength in his arm gave out.

Er hat keine Kraft mehr im Arm/die Kraft in ... ist fort.

(4.47) These animals died out a long time ago.

Diese Tiere starben vor langer Zeit aus.

5.2.1.5 Observe the erroneous selection of the EF in contexts which imply bordercrossing and hence require the SF:

(4.48) The other day many soldiers and ( $\phi \Rightarrow$  common) people came to see Sir Foulk. \*And then the great moment was coming - Sir Foulk jumped first to the top of the first step and then to the second. And so he came ( $\Rightarrow$  progressed) to the top (NS/R, Knight).

(4.48a) Soon the great moment came.

(4.49) This was the first attempt which could not be finished ( $\Rightarrow$  carried out) because the cable snapped. \*The second attempt was ending by a strained ship which broke in the middle (NS/R, Cable).

(4.49a) The second attempt ended because a strained ship went down.

In the EPs the students perform as follows in relation to bordercrossing predicates:

Table 15

No. Test sentences: FCS - N=42		choice items	Select. Object	
1	The next day many soldiers and common people came to see Sir Foulk. And then the great moment _____. Sir Foulk jumped first to the top of the first step and then to the second. And so he progressed to the top.	came	22	12½
		was coming	20	19½
Test sentences: E & P - N=51		Acc.	Eval. * +	Pref. <sup>1</sup> RI Σ
2	Der Mann lag im Sterben, als ich ihn auf der Strasse fand. Aber irgendwie erholte er sich und macht jetzt wieder seine alte Arbeit. (... But somehow he recovered and is now in his old job again.)			
	a)The man was just going to die when I found him on the road.	*	19 32	22 140
	b)The man was dying when I found him on the road.	+	24 27	12 130
	c)The man is dying when I found him on the road.	*	51 0	0 199
	d)The man died when I found him on the road.	*	42 9	2 172
	e)The man lay in death when I found him on the road.	*	25 26	18 127
3	Er ist eben beim Erwachen.			
	a)Just he wakes up.	*	25 26	6 122
	b)Just now he wakes up.	*	20 31	22 107
	c)He is at waking up.	*	45 6	3 188
	d)He wakes up.	*	39 12	1 170
	e)He is waking up.	+	16 35	25 114

Table 15: Bordercrossing predicates

The selection scores to item 1 are 'well-balanced' (50 : 50). Both the objection score to the expanded verb form in item 1 and the evaluation score to item 2b show that only 50 per cent of the group reject or accept the EF correctly in these contexts (the 50 : 50 distribution may, of course, also be due to a purely random choice on the part of the individual learner). The scores for item 3 reveal that many students opt for unacceptable structures if they contain

- 
- The preference score is computed twice: RI gives the number of first preferences only ('Rank 1'), Σ is a cumulative score derived at by adding up all the preferences assigned to one item (first preference = 1 mark, second choice = 2 marks, etc. up to 5).

adverbials like now. This can, most probably, be attributed to the common teaching strategy of linking ongoing processes with these 'signal words'. This close association then leads on, with these telic predicates, that the actual bordercrossing is understood as happening at  $PR_1$  or  $PR_2$  precisely. Thus 2a is given first preference as translation equivalent of the G sentence by the majority of learners. This is also very clearly borne out by the results of the interpretation test. Most students think that the transition is taking place at the very moment of the speaking. Only an instant later the change of state will have come about (see Table 16, items 1e, 2d):

No.	Test sentences: CI - N=42	Yes	No	?	-
1	John is dying.				
	a) John ist im Augenblick des Sprechens bereits tot.	4	36	1	1
	b) John lebt im Augenblick des Sprechens noch.	25	11	4	2
	c) John liegt im Sterben; d.h. er liegt schon länger in diesem Zustand, und es ist mit seinem Ableben zu rechnen.	26	13	2	1
	d) John wird sicher sterben; er ringt schon länger mit dem Tode, und sein Ableben wird ganz gewiss eintreten. Er kann auf keinen Fall vor dem Sterben gerettet werden.	26	15	0	1
	e) John verstirbt gerade im Augenblick des Sprechens, d.h. einen Moment später ist er tot.	33	4	1	4
2	The train is stopping.				
	a) Der Zug rollt im Augenblick des Sprechens noch.	18	22	2	0
	b) Der Zug steht im Augenblick des Sprechens bereits.	8	34	0	0
	c) Der Zug kommt allmählich zum Stehen; d.h. er wird immer langsamer, und es ist mit seinem Stillstand zu rechnen.	20	17	4	1
	d) Der Zug kommt im Augenblick des Sprechens gerade zum Stillstand; d.h. einen Moment später steht er still.	37	2	1	2

Table 16: Bordercrossing predicates & EF: interpretation

The reading of the 'gradual' approach towards the transition is selected by far fewer students. We may also notice a different distribution of answers towards the two absolute states involved in this type of situation: 'dead' vs. 'alive', 'stationary' vs. 'moving' (Table 16, items 1a, b; 2a, b). This asymmetric distribution



is due to the fact that for the learners the purely semantic implications of the E sentences are 'rivalled' by certain factual interpretations, which may be just as important in their conceptualization of what these sentences denote. The students' reactions to sentences involving bordercrossing predicates in perfect tense forms show again a 50 : 50 distribution in relation to the selection of SF or EF, regardless of whether the context specifies the change-of-state as having come about or not (Table 17, items 1 and 2). The results of the CI-test reveal that most students understand these sentences as denoting a complete change-of-state, no matter whether the telic predicate is in the SF or EF (Table 17, items 3b and 4b). The majority of students do not have internalized yet the specific semantic function of the EF with these predicates (telic but non-terminative processes).

No.	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select.	Object
1.	'There is not one of these beautiful giraffes left in this area'. - 'Oh yes, they ___ since the last drought'.	have been dying out have died out	20 22	27 14
2.	'There are not many of these beautiful giraffes left in this area'. - 'Oh yes, they ___ since the last drought'.	have been dying out have died out	21 21	20 16½
Test sentences: CI - N=42			Yes No	? -
3.	These animals have died out since the last drought. a) Von diesen Tieren gibt es noch einige Exemplare. b) Von diesen Tieren gibt es kein einziges Exemplar mehr. c) Die Dürre war vor unbestimmter Zeit, irgendwann einmal. d) Die Dürre war vor kurzer Zeit, sie hat gerade stattgefunden. e) Die Dürre war vor langer Zeit, sie liegt lange zurück.		5 33 30 6 18 19 12 21 10 21	2 2 3 3 4 1 7 2 9 2
4.	These animals have been dying out since the last drought. a) Von diesen Tieren gibt es noch einige Exemplare. b) Von diesen Tieren gibt es kein einziges Exemplar mehr. c) Die Dürre war vor unbestimmter Zeit, irgendwann einmal. d) Die Dürre war vor kurzer Zeit, sie hat gerade stattgefunden. e) Die Dürre war vor langer Zeit, sie liegt lange zurück.		12 27 26 12 17 20 15 19 11 23	1 2 2 2 3 2 5 3 6 2

Table 17: Bordercrossing predicates & SF/EF: selection and interpretation



5.2.1.6 In the subsequent paragraph we will consider the properties of bordercrossing propositions in the presence of durational adverbials and quantifiers.

i) quantification of the direct object NP of count nouns

- (4.50)\* BP discovered/were discovering an oil field in the North Sea for months.
- (4.51)\* BP discovered/were discovering the oil field in the North Sea for months.<sup>1</sup>
- (4.52) BP discovered/were discovering oil fields in the North Sea for months.
- (4.53)\* BP discovered/were discovering the oil fields in the North Sea for months.
- (4.54)\* BP discovered/were discovering some/all (of) the oil fields in the North Sea for months.
- (4.55)\* BP discovered/were discovering (these) three oil fields in the North Sea for months.
- (4.56)\* BP discovered/were discovering every/each oil field in the North Sea for months.
- (4.57) BP discovered/were discovering dozens of/several oil fields in the North Sea for months.

ii) quantification of the direct object NP of mass nouns

- (4.58) BP discovered/were discovering oil in the North Sea for months.
- (4.59)\* BP discovered/were discovering a/the/every barrel of oil in the North Sea for months.

---

1. Note, however, the spoken form Einstein was years discovering his theory (= 'It took Einstein years to discover his theory'), which allows definite singular NPs in this context.

(4.60)\* BP discovered/were discovering the (10)  
barrels of oil in the North Sea for months.

(4.60) BP discovered/were discovering tons of oil in  
the North Sea for months.

Bordercrossing propositions can co-occur with unbounded nominals as the direct object in the presence of durational adverbials (scalar tensors). The interpretation is one of iteration, ie, repetition of separate like 'acts' (= bounded events/bordercrossings by the (same) referent of the subject NP. The situations denoted by the whole sentence are understood as unbounded for the period of time expressed by the adverbial. In other words: the scope of the scalar tensor ranges over the whole unbounded situation. If the direct object NP is bounded the sentences become unacceptable. The restrictions do not operate only on the verb or the predicate but on the whole predication, or semantically speaking: proposition. 'Imperfective aspect' is a configuration of various constituents whose 'upper bound' (Verkuyl 1972) would seem to lie at the sentence/proposition level. This is underlined by the fact that the same restrictions operate upon the subject NP:

iii) quantification of the subject NP of count nouns

(4.62)\* A/the guest arrived/was arriving all evening.

(4.63) (The) guests arrived/were arriving all evening.

(4.64)\* Some/all (of) the guests arrived/were arriving  
all evening.

(4.65)\* Barry, Moira and Ian arrived/were arriving all  
evening.

(4.66)\* (These) three guests arrived/were arriving all  
evening.

(4.67)\* Every/each guest arrived/was arriving all evening.

(4.68) Dozens of/several guests arrived/were arriving all evening.

(4.69) There were guests arriving all evening.

iv) quantification of the subject NP of mass nouns

(4.70) Persian oil arrived/was arriving in Britain for months.

(4.71)\* A/the/every barrel of Persian oil arrived/was arriving in Britain for months.

(4.72)\* (The) ten barrels of Persian oil arrived/were arriving in Britain for months.

(4.73) Tons of Persian oil arrived/were arriving in Britain for months.

(4.74) There were tons of Persian oil arriving in Britain for months.

Only if the situation denoted by the whole proposition is an unbounded one these sentences involving bordercrossing predicates and durational adverbs are acceptable. This is also valid for sentences with a 'collective noun' functioning as the grammatical subject (despite the presence of the definite article):

(4.75) The army/the clergy was arriving all evening.

'Collective nouns' are the nominal equivalent to lexically iterative verbs like flutter, twitter, stammer etc. in that they are inherently unbounded ('pluralized') and can thus occupy the position of any other unbounded nominal in the configuration of 'imperfective aspect'.

Notice again that what the acceptable sentences denote is not, strictly speaking, one 'continuous' event but the repetition of separate events over a certain stretch of time. Since the situations denoted by these

sentences are understood as unbounded either form, SF or EF, can be used. However, the EF seems more common in sentences of this kind (a period of time is implied here: in those days):

- (4.76) The rains were over and the earth steamed. The hospital was full of malaria patients. Further up the coast they were dying of blackwater (HM:197).

The use of the EF is felt to be 'less awkward' or 'more natural' in these contexts. By virtue of its function in denoting progressive aktionsart it gives 'emphasis' to the ongoingness of an unbounded situation. The recurrence of individual events can also be spelled out syntagmatically:

- (4.77) Guests kept on arriving all evening.

In the FCS-test the selection score is, on the whole, higher with unbounded than with bounded nominals. However, the latter are selected rather frequently, and the objection scores to these sentences are far from being very high. Thus a substantial proportion of students is not aware of the unacceptability of bounded nominals co-occurring with bordercrossing predicates and durational adverbials (Table 18):

No.	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select	Object
1.	BP discovered ____ in the North Sea for months	an oilfield	16	26½
		oilfields	26	4½
2.	BP discovered ____ in the North Sea for months	3 oilfields	16	16½
		dozens of oilfields	26	6
3.	____ were arriving all evening.	guests	30	9
		3 guests	12	24½
4.	____ were arriving all evening.	John, Paul and Mary	21	7
		dozens of guests	21	13

Table 18: Bordercrossing predicates and quantification



5.2.1.7 Dowty (1972:56) points out that there are 'potential counter-examples' to the claim that bordercrossing predicates cannot co-occur with definite singular objects and durational adverbials. Cf. the following sentences:

(4.78)\* Schliemann discovered/was discovering the  
Agamemnon-treasure for three years.

(4.79)\* Rutherford discovered/was discovering the fission  
of the atomic nucleus for years.

(4.80) Rutherford {noticed/was noticing}  
                  {found/was finding} his assistant's  
coat on the floor for weeks.

The key to the understanding of the acceptability of (4.80) would seem to lie in the 'character' of the referent of the direct object nominal his assistant's coat. Whereas the Mycenaean treasure or the fission of the atomic nucleus is discovered once and for all, provided that we do not want to stress that it was unearthed bit by bit, a coat is the sort of object that can be noticed or found lying on the floor again and again, because it can be 'mis-laid'. Bierwisch (1970) and Fillmore (1971:384) point out that nouns are characterized by very specific spatial orientation features. We will claim that temporal orientation features also go into the definitions of nouns, and it is these orientation features that are crucial to the understanding of why certain nouns/nominals can or cannot interact with the 'meaning' of certain predicates and/or the function of certain grammatical forms. Dowty (1972:56) glosses, quite rightly, discover as 'come to know the existence of' and find 'come to know that NP is at X place at y time'. Lying on the floor is a variable predicate on the noun coat (see § 4.1.8 and § 5.5.5.1 on the notion of variability). Since it is the kind of object that can be mis-laid it can be found here and there. Furthermore, lying on the floor is

not a property-defining predication on coat, the situation denoted by such a sentence is therefore understood as limited in duration (= 'variable'). With (4.80) we have a conjunction of the 'happy accident' meaning of find ('come upon by chance') and the 'mislayability' of the object his assistant's coat. If we neglect the possibility of a game situation (hide and seek) the other co-occurrences are not acceptable:

(4.81)\* Rutherford was constantly finding the entrance to his lab in Cambridge ('not mislayable').

(4.82)\* Rutherford was constantly coming by search upon the entrance to his lab in Cambridge.

(4.83)\* Rutherford was constantly coming by search upon his assistant's coat.

This variability in place and time is not a property-defining predication on treasure: once it is discovered it does not permit ever-new 'rediscovery'. It is again the pluralization or quantification of like events that makes the situation unbounded. Hence the iterative interpretation of (4.80). Iteration is surely a derived and not a basic aspectual function in a sentence (see § 5.6.3). We may also make the very general point that it is the interpenetration of lexis and grammar that plays a crucial role in the composition of the two aspects (cf. Schopf 1969).

5.2.1.8 We will now consider the syntactic properties of bordercrossing propositions in simple and expanded present perfect tense forms involving a uniquely specified subject referent (= 'bounded nominal').

i) intransitive bordercrossing propositions (4.84):

Jerry arrived

- Jerry was arriving when...<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Utterances like Jerry was arriving are acceptable if they are understood as elliptical: there seems always a second event, expressed by a subordinate clause, to be implied (see § 5.7.3 on 'incidence').



\* Jerry arrived for 3 hours

- \* Jerry was arriving for 3 hours

Jerry has arrived

- \* Jerry has been arriving

\* Jerry has arrived for 3 hours - \* Jerry has been arriving for  
3 hours

All the starred sentences become acceptable with an unbounded nominal functioning as the grammatical subject. An intransitive bordercrossing proposition with the referent of the subject NP being uniquely specified (= bounded NP) cannot co-occur with durational adverbials and/or the EF, since this does not admit an unbounded situation. The iterative interpretation, ie, new participants repeating like 'acts', is ruled out. These sentences violate the basic configurational scheme for 'imperfective aspect': see Verkuyl's scheme (1972:106) in § 4.4.4, where his "(un)specified quantity of X" would appear to correspond to our notion of an '(un)bounded nominal'.

ii) transitive bordercrossing propositions

Consider the following sentences with the object involving an indefinite singular count noun (4.85):

(\*) Bob discovered a treasure for years. - (\*) Bob was discovering  
a treasure for years.

Bob has discovered a treasure. - \* Bob has been  
discovering a treasure

(\*) Bob has discovered a treasure for years. - (\*) Bob has been  
discovering a treasure  
for years.

The bracketed asterisk is meant to indicate that these sentences are acceptable if the object NP is non-specific; ie, if some archeologist called Bob has been finding treasures at various intervals over a period of years. If the reference is to a specific treasure, however, the generalization still holds that in durative constructions bordercrossing predicates are incompatible with bounded subject and object NPs. A non-specific object NP in these contexts makes the

situation again unbounded. With objects involving definite singular count nouns we get (4.86):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| * Bob discovered the treasure for years.     | - * Bob was discovering the treasure for years.      |
| Bob has discovered the treasure.             | - * Bob has been discovering the treasure.           |
| * Bob has discovered the treasure for years. | - * Bob has been discovering the treasure for years. |

Notice that transitive bordercrossing propositions containing a bounded subject NP are compatible with durational adverbials if the object NP is non-specific (= unbounded situation) as in:

- (4.87) David Bedford { (has) won  
was winning  
has been winning } the 5.000 metres for years

The fact that it is the whole situation/proposition which is important as regards the acceptability of the EF in a particular instance can also be seen from the following example where the expanded present perfect tense form is unacceptable with a border-crossing proposition (inception) and a bounded object nominal:

- (4.88)\* He has been starting his new opera.

Hence: \* He spent a week starting his new opera, if we neglect the possible 'ironical' reading 'He has been trying/pretending to ...'.  
Sentence (4.89):

- (4.89) He has been starting his car (Leech 1971:44).

is, however, acceptable because this is, at least in one reading, an accomplishment proposition: cf. the test frames 'It took him an hour to ...'/'He spent an hour ...'.

If the direct object NP is an indefinite plural count noun (= unbounded nominal) all the sentences in this paradigm become acceptable (4.90):

Bob discovered treasures for years.

- Bob was discovering treasures  
for years.

Bob has discovered treasures.

- Bob has been discovering  
treasures.

Bob has discovered treasures for years.

- Bob has been discovering  
treasures for years.

Thus we arrive at the following conclusion: intransitive bordercrossing propositions in simple or expanded preterite or present perfect tense forms are compatible with durational adverbials (= unbounded situation/imperfective aspect) if the subject NP is unbounded, transitive bordercrossings only if at least one or both of the nominal categories (subject and direct object) are unbounded. In lending emphasis to the ongoingness of an unbounded bordercrossing situation (= iteration) the EF is usually the preferred form.

It may be noted that the simple present perfect tense form of bordercrossing propositions is perfectly acceptable out of context, whereas activity propositions sound a bit odd (see § 5.3.2.5):

(4.91) He has arrived/left/forgotten.

(4.92)? He has cried/laughed/run.

With activity propositions the EF is the preferred form here:

(4.93) He has been crying/laughing/running.

Most bordercrossing propositions do not allow this expansion:

(4.94)\* He has been arriving/leaving.

Some can occur in the EF if the situation can be thought of as the 'pluralization' of the 'basic event', ie, if it is understood iteratively:

(4.95) He has been forgetting.

Accomplishment predicates do not take on this iterative reading with the expanded present perfect tense form:



(4.96) Jerry has been building a sandcastle.

5.2.1.9 Sentences containing verbs of perception (see § 5.5.63), but also know and understand, are peculiar in the sense that they can denote both a state and a bordercrossing (cf. Vendler 1967:113ff, Taylor 1965:91f). Let us imagine that someone is coming round the corner of a street and then walks down this road. As soon as this person comes into my visual field I can say:

(4.97) And at that moment, when he turned the corner, I  
saw him.

If I then follow him with my eyes:

(4.98) I saw him all the time he was going down that road. Notice also the different temporal adverbials! In (4.97) see is a bordercrossing predicate (= 'catch sight of someone'), something is happening at a definite instant of time. In (4.98) see is a state predicate (= 'have someone in sight'), the denoted situation lasts for some time. A similar dichotomy can be observed with know, which in its instantaneous bordercrossing meaning corresponds to realize:

(4.99) And at that moment I knew she was lying.

In certain contexts (see § 5.6.3.3) sentences containing the bordercrossing predicate wake up can also denote the duration of the resultant state (awake, however, is always 'instantaneous', never 'state'):

(4.100) As in the previous nights she woke up for some  
hours but eventually she fell asleep again.

This difference between the bordercrossing and the resultant state interpretation is usually lexicalized in G: aufwachen vs. wach sein (be awake can, of course, also be used in E), where 'being awake'  $\supset$  'having woken up'.

About a quarter of the group of students under investigation understand a sentence of this kind as expressing the duration of the process denoted by the predicate. Almost 50 per cent reject the reading that it is the duration of the resultant state that is named by these sentences (Table 19):

Test sentence: CI - N = 42	Yes	No	?	-
Mary woke up for 3 minutes.				
a) Der englische Satz hat keinen Sinn.	8	33	0	1
b) Mary wachte vor 3 Minuten auf.	10	31	1	0
c) Der Vorgang des Aufwachens dauerte 3 Minuten.	10	29	1	2
d) Mary wachte auf und war dann 3 Minuten lang wach.	18	19	3	2

Table 19: Duration of resultant state

### 5.2.2 Inchoative propositions

5.2.2.1 There is a class of inchoative (or: mutative) predicates that are analyzable in terms of the coming about of a change-of-state like all the bordercrossing predicates mentioned in § 5.2.1. Yet they are compatible with durational adverbials:

(2.22) The corn dried for a week in the fields (before a cloudburst soaked it again).

(2.23) The present writer aged considerably during his four years in Edinburgh.

The sentences which contain these predicates do not denote instantaneous processes: harden, cool, widen, deepen, heighten, thicken, soften, lengthen, strengthen, darken, blacken, quicken, blanch, bleach, grow, fatten, mature, loosen, solidify, sink, age, dry, tighten, deteriorate, slow down, etc. The notion of 'inchoative' is not to be confused with 'inceptive' as it is used in this study. Many grammarians have employed it also for this latter concept, ie, the beginning of a process from a definite zero-point. 'Inchoative' here corresponds to what some grammarians have called 'mutative' (= 'gradual change-

of-state'). Unlike the momentary bordercrossing predicates inchoative predicates are derived from 'degree-words', ie, gradable adjectives like hard, dry, old, wide etc. (an observation apparently due to Sapir 1949). These predicates are usually rendered in G by adjectives + werden (hart werden, kalt werden) or reflexive constructions (sich verschlechtern). Bierwisch (1967:7) has characterized these adjectives in terms of their "meeting or exceeding a certain norm", where this norm is, however, not inherent in the meaning of the adjective itself: they "do not express norms, but normativity" (p.11). Bierwisch also points out (1967:12) that the difference between The cigarette is long/short vs. The cigarette is good/bad is one of diverging from the presupposed average ('length of cigarettes') vs. meeting or not-meeting the expected standard or quality. Inchoative propositions would seem to differ from the cases which Bierwisch discusses in that they do not necessarily imply some external average standard: there is, eg, no such thing as an average 'ageing point' of a postgraduate student (cf. (2.23)). The only thing that matters is the notion of change-of-state with temporal succession: a certain property of an object ('dryness', 'old-ness') increases or decreases along a certain scale with respect to some earlier reference point. Thus there is an arbitrary number of 'intermediary' states, whose logical relationships can be represented by comparative constructions using the underlying 'relative' adjectives:

- (4.101) The gap between the government and the unions was widening.  $\supset$  'The gap ... was wider than before (at every arbitrary point t)'.

Since this implies that at every point  $t$  in the period implied by the context or denoted by the durational adverbial the property of



the object has a different objective value (temperature, humidity, age), there can be no contradiction in truth values at all these points of time: see § 4.5.2, (2.21), for Dowty's logical treatment of 'happening' propositions. Relative adjectives do not follow the implication set up for absolute adjectives by Bartsch & Vennemann (quoted in König & Lutzeier 1973);

(4.102) This is a square/black box.  $\supset$  This is square/black.

(4.103) This is a wide/deep river.  $\nmid$  This is wide/deep.

Absolute states do not allow the comparative construction:

(4.104)\* The train is more stationary than the boat.

(4.105)\* Mrs Jones is more dead than her cat.

5.2.2.2 An inchoative proposition co-occurring with a scalar tensor like:

(4.106) His features hardened for ten seconds.

is, in fact, ambiguous in that the durational adverbial can denote either the period of time during which the process of 'hardening' was coming about or the stretch of time for which the resultant state was true. Predicates like harden and age (in the SF) can denote both the gradual process of 'becoming more and more hard' or 'becoming older and older' and the attainment of a resultant relative state, namely 'be hard' or 'be old'. Whereas the state be old is an irreversible one, be hard (for features) is a reversible one. The difference is lexicalized in G:

(4.106a) Seine Gesichtszüge wurden 10 Sekunden lang immer härter (verhärteten sich immer mehr).

(4.106b) Seine Gesichtszüge waren 10 Sekunden lang hart.

Similarly with:

(4.107) The lake froze for five days.

which can have the interpretation of a gradual change-of-state

(= 'the lake was freezing (up) for five days') or that the resultant state lasted for five days (= 'the lake was frozen up for five days') after the change-of-state had come about.

The duration of the resultant state is the reading which the students have internalized for sentences in which inchoative predicates co-occur with durational adverbials (Table 20, item 1). This conclusion is underlined by the results of item 2: the great majority of students reject the fully lexicalized inchoative predicate harden (see 2a, c) as a translation equivalent of the G sentence in which the inchoative idea is spelled out syntagmatically. Instead, they opt for structures in which the gradual change-of-state (become/get) and the degree-adjective are lexicalized separately (2 b, e, f). The same can be observed with sentences denoting the duration of a resultant state (item 3). The learners 'prefer' the decomposed form, which is paralleled by a similar structure in their  $L_1$ , to the fully lexicalized form (compare 3b and 3d):

Table 20:

No.	Test sentences: CI - N=42	Yes	No	?	-
1	His face hardened for 10 seconds a) Sein Gesicht verhärtete sich während dieser 10 Sekunden immer mehr, d.h. 'wurde immer härter'. b) Sein Gesicht wurde für 10 Sekunden hart, danach war es wieder entspannt.	4	37	0	1
		37	3	1	1
	Test sentences: E & P - N=51	Acc.	Eval. * +	Pref. RI	Σ
2	Sein Gesicht verhärtete sich immer mehr. a) His face hardened. b) His face became more and more hard. c) His face was hardening. d) His face was being hard more and more. e) His face became harder and harder. f) His face was getting harder and harder.	+ * + * + +	48 3- 20 31 46 5 31 20 13 32 22 29	1 218 17 130 2 215 10 158 20 114 16 127	
3	Sein Gesicht wurde 10 Sekunden lang hart, dann entspannte es sich wieder. a) His face was 10 seconds long hard, then it relaxed again. b) His face became hard for 10 seconds, then ... c) His face was being hard for 10 seconds, then ... d) His face hardened for 10 seconds, then ...	* + * +	38 13 15 36 34 17 35 16	10 154 25 90 9 150 7 151	

Table 20: Inchoative predicates and scalar tensors

5.2.2.3 The choice between EF and SF with inchoative propositions follows the general criterion set up for the use of the SF or EF respectively. If the ongoingness of the inchoative process (= gradual development towards a resultant relative state), ie, an unbounded situation, is to be denoted the EF can be used. If the resultant relative state implied by the respective proposition is understood as having come about the SF is the form to be employed (hence the necessity for modifying these propositions by means of inclusive adverbials: the corn died in a week, the sky darkened in 15 minutes etc). It may be noted, however, that with inchoative propositions the SF can be selected for the encoding of both the unbounded and the bounded situation.

Consider the following examples of unbounded inchoative processes for which the EF was selected; a point of reference is

either overtly stated or implied by the context:

- (4.108) Although attitudes are hardening in the areas it is not certain that the necessary 55 per cent for a strike would emerge (BBC).
- (4.109) At the moment, you see, the number of postgraduates is increasing all the time (BBC).
- (4.110) Britain is caught in an economic blizzard: the stock market is falling, interest rates are soaring (BBC).
- (4.111) Even towards the end of her life, when her voice was sadly deteriorating, she was still able to ... (BBC)

In G the idea of a gradual development of a process can be rendered by means of relexive constructions and various periphrastic forms (eg, comparative + immer, dabei/daran sein + infinitive, etc):

- (4.112) His body was corrupting outwards from that seed (HM: 235).  
Von diesem Keim verbreitete sich die Fäulnis seines Leibes.
- (4.113) The cafe was emptying (LDR:52).  
(4.113) Das Cafe leerte sich.
- (4.114) Miss Brodie's struggles with the authorities were increasing throughout the years (JB:112).  
Miss Brodies Auseinandersetzungen mit ihren Vorgesetzten nahmen mit den Jahren immer schärfere Formen an.
- (4.115) The evenings are drawing in (H:56).  
Die Dämmerung kommt immer früher.
- (4.116) The Old Downhamians had had a very successful Christmas term. Ducker and Tierney were coming on



well as forwards (HM:158).

D. und T. waren daran, sich zu guten Stürmern zu entwickeln.

Notice also the possible - locative - periphrastic constructions in E:

(4.117) Her influence was gradually on the decline.

(4.118) Miss Brodie's prime was still in the making (JB:44).

Sie befand sich immer noch in der Entwicklung.

The notion of gradual change is also present with inchoative predicates, in the EF, formed by a verb plus a locative adverbial:

(4.119) Even his meek reformism is now tapering off (BBC).

(4.120) The gin was wearing off (1984:24).

Die Wirkung des Gins verflüchtigte sich.

(4.121) The sadness was peeling off his mind (HM:98).

Wie Schuppen fiel die Traurigkeit von ihm ab.

(4.122) The children are quieting down.

Inchoative predicates can also take the form 'adjective + verb', such as: become, come, get, go, grow, turn, fall, wear, run:

(4.123) The river is running dry (= 'go towards dry', ≠ 'go more and more dry').

(4.124) My sweaters are all wearing thin at the elbows.

The ongoingness of the inchoative process is frequently expressed in G by such adverbials like langsam, allmählich etc:

(4.125) You are getting demented (H:9).

Du wirst langsam senil.

(4.126) He noticed that the darkness was thinning (HM:81).

Er bemerkte, dass die Dunkelheit sich allmählich lichtete.

(4.127) The Brodie set was getting out of hand (JB:102)



Die Brodie-Clique verlor langsam den Zusammenhalt.

According to the results of the E & P-test the students 'over-indulge' in those sentences which contain one of these adverbials (slowly, gradually). Preference is clearly given to those structures which closely resemble the forms of their  $L_1$  (Table 21, items 1d, e; 2a, e; 3a, c, e). Sentences containing an inchoative predicate in the EF are accepted as translation equivalents comparatively rarely (see items 1b, 2c, 3b). We can assume that the majority of students do not yet consider these sentences as acceptable E encodings of inchoative propositions. Notice also that there is no difference in distribution between 3b and 3d. The students do not seem to be aware that the sentence containing the expanded verb form (3b) denotes the ongoingness of the inchoative process, whereas the one with a non-expanded verb form also allows the interpretation of the attainment of a resultant state:

No.	Test sentences: E & P - N=51	Acc.	Eval.		Pref.	
			*	+	RI	Σ
1	Ich werde langsam alt.					
	a) I am going old.	*	38	23	18	134
	b) I am growing old.	+	46	5	2	153
	c) I would grow old.	*	48	3	2	196
	d) I am growing old slowly.	+	33	18	18	115
	e) Slowly I am growing old.	+	36	15	16	125
2	Die Dunkelheit lichtete sich allmählich.					
	a) The darkness was thinning gradually.	+	18	33	22	118
	b) The darkness became thinner.	*	32	19	7	163
	c) The darkness was thinning.	+	40	11	2	186
	d) The darkness became thin.	*	42	9	4	180
	e) The darkness gradually thinned.	+	24	27	11	143
3	Das Haus fiel langsam zusammen.					
	a) The house fell together slowly.	*	26	25	19	130
	b) The house was falling to pieces.	+	42	9	5	157
	c) The house was falling slowly together.	*	34	17	16	147
	d) The house fell to pieces.	(*)	43	8	2	189
	e) The house fell slowly to pieces.	+	30	21	14	151

Table 21: Inchoative propositions

5.2.2.4 Important are the following inchoative propositions involving predicates in the EF which can hardly be accounted for in terms of

(limited) duration:

(4.128) Come on, let's go. It is getting cold/late.

... Es wird schon spät.

Underlying these utterances is the presupposition that there is a not too distant state of affairs which is cold/late. In other words: it is already colder or later than expected, a presupposition which in G is usually rendered by schon. What is expressed here is the gradual change towards this presupposed norm. This construction is impossible with absolute states:

(4.129)\* The present writer is getting tall/British (ie, in nationality, not in behavioural terms).

5.2.2.5 In the one instance of a 'scientific text' which was consulted for this study (see § 2.2.10, footnote p.16, for the sources of the material for the CA) inchoative propositions constitute most of the few cases in which the EF is used in this kind of register. These sentences are frequently associated with adverbs like constantly, daily, still etc, thereby underlining the unboundedness of the situation:

(4.130) These aesthetic values are increasing with scarcity (W:161).

"Ästhetische Wertedieser Art werden immer rarer.

(4.131) The need for water is increasing almost daily, as population and industry grow (W:165).

Mit dem Wachstum der Bevölkerung und Industrie erhöht sich der Wasserbedarf täglich.

(4.132) The scope of water-control engineering is constantly expanding to meet the needs of growing populations (W:163).

In scientific texts we will find utterances like:

- (4.133) The stars are receding proportional to the loss  
of matter in the universe.

where loss of matter is a variable property of the 'universe'. Hence the possibility for the use of the EF in an inchoative proposition, although the referents of the subject NP are generally understood as 'invariable' entities.

5.2.2.6 Adverbials indicating gradual change like more and more, less and less can change the semantic properties of a proposition, such that a verb like resemble (= 'be like'), which is generally considered a state predicate according to the tests discussed in § 5.1.7, can occur in the EF in what is now an inchoative proposition (= 'become like'):

- (4.134) Paul is resembling his father more and more as he  
grows older.

Paul wird seinem Vater immer ähnlicher, je älter  
er wird.

In a multiple-choice task (E & P test) this structure is given clear preference by the students (Table 22):

Test sentence: E & P - N=51	Acc.	Eval.		Pref.	
		*	+	RI	Σ
Paul wird seinem Vater immer ähnlicher, je älter er wird.					
a) Paul is resembling his father more and more as he grows older.	+	16	35	25	106
b) Paul becomes his father as he grows older.	*	45	6	3	186
c) Paul is more and more his father as he grows older.	*	43	8	3	178
d) Paul resembles his father as he grows older.	*	36	15	9	149
e) Paul is being similar to his father as he grows older.	*	27	24	14	136

Table 22: Inchoative proposition: resemble & EF

We may note here in passing that the structure involving the EF of resemble was not produced once by the students in the preliminary translation task. They rather produced the other structures offered



as 'alternatives' in Table 22 (b - e). This leads us to hypothesize that there is a productive and a receptive competence of these students in the area of syntax (and semantics) too. To my knowledge this has so far only been accepted for the field of lexis (for similar observations as regards the availability of certain thematizing devices to this group of learners, cf. Zydatiss 1972).

5.2.2.7 The next two learners' utterances were 'preferred' in the EF, since the highlighting of the ongoingness of the inchoative process was felt to be particularly necessary:

(4.135) Ten marks are not covering (~~⇒~~ do not cover) the whole costs. And you must not forget: All things become more expensive (DS/FE, Money).

(4.135a) ... All things are becoming more expensive.

(4.136) The reason why I don't like to buy a car is because of the air-pollution. With every year it grows more and more (DS/FE, Car).

(4.136a) ... With every year it is growing/getting more and more.

Either form is accepted in a piece of DS for the opening of the composition of the following kind:

(4.137) Year by year the number of people taking pot  
          { grows            }  
          { is growing } (DS/FE, Pot).

If the relevant state of a degree-process is understood as having come about at a particular point of reference the SF has to be selected, as is done correctly in (4.138):

(4.138) At the end of the 19th century the women got more influence by the 'Frauenbewegung'. They wanted to choose ( $\Rightarrow$  elect) the parliament. They didn't want

to work at home every day. So they became time by time ( $\Rightarrow$  gradually) an instrument of political power (DS/FE, Woman).

Similarly in narratives, in which the whole process of achieving the resultant state is seen as a bounded situation, as a 'total event in its entirety', as one 'step' in the course of the narrative:

(4.139) ... But soon it became difficult to make the dog eat its food. The dog became leaner and its beauty vanished (NS/R, Dog).

### 5.3 Activity propositions

#### 5.3.1 Classes of activity predicates

5.3.1.1 We can distinguish various semantic classes of activity predicates, where we do not claim anything like exhaustiveness for the subsequent classification. The predicates listed below usually occur in agentive activity propositions:

- i) predicates denoting motion: walk, go, run, swim, dance; ride a bike/horse, drive a car, push/pull a cart; hunt, chase, search, etc.
- ii) predicates denoting active perception: watch, observe, look at, listen to, feel, taste, smell, etc.
- iii) predicates denoting actions that are related to communication: say, talk, speak, ask, call, discuss, explain, etc.
- iv) predicates denoting actions related to 'take': eat, drink, steal, pick, read, smoke, etc.
- v) predicates denoting actions related to the production of sound: sing, play the piano; laugh, belch, giggle, croak, weep, yell, etc.
- vi) predicates denoting actions related to the production of concrete entities: paint, knit, etc.



- vii) predicates denoting actions which incorporate various parts of the body as 'instruments': kick, hit, knock, tap, nod, squeeze, wink, pinch, rub, scratch, chew, etc.
- viii) predicates denoting actions which require other 'instruments': wash, sweep, comb, burn, cut, stab; skate, ski, etc.
- ix) predicates denoting mental activity: ponder on, consider, think, ruminate, etc.
- x) predicates denoting actions involving a symmetrical relationship between participants: kiss, have intercourse, commit adultery, co-operate, hold/shake hands, rub noses; agree, argue, quarrel, fight, etc.
- xi) predicates comprising 'non-stative' adjectives and nominals: be careful, be a hero, etc.
- xii) others: work, sleep, enjoy oneself, keep a secret, wait, shed blood, etc.

Activity and state propositions share many of their semantic and syntactic properties, as was already observed in § 5.1 (cf. also the localistic account of activities as 'be in a state of V-ing': Anderson 1973). Sleep is a particularly good example of the character of the choice that is sometimes open to the speaker in 'regarding' and encoding a situation linguistically as an event or a state proposition:

(5.1) Mary is sleeping.

(5.2) Mary is asleep.

There would seem to be hardly any difference in 'meaning', if not none at all.

5.3.1.2 Across the various semantic classes listed in § 5.3.1.1 we can distinguish 'durative' predicates like sing, laugh, work, play etc. and 'momentary' predicates like tap, hit, knock, kick, etc.

If the latter occur in the SF they denote a bounded situation. In other words: within the bounded situations we have to draw a basic distinction between 'momentary' and 'durative' situations/propositions (most accomplishment propositions denote 'durative' bounded situations: John built a sandcastle etc): see § 4.2.4 for Streitberg's sub-classification of 'perfective aspect'. In this section (§ 5.3) we will not deal any more with 'momentary' activity predicates. They will be discussed, with special reference to the EF, in § 5.6.3.2 in the section on 'iteration'. Here it is sufficient to note that 'momentariness' is not the negation of 'duration', ie, in a feature notation something like [- duration]. The defining property of a 'momentary' event is that it is conceptualized by the speaker as a 'punctual' bounded situation; in objective terms even a 'momentary' event has 'some' duration: cf. Bull 1960 on notions like 'objective reality'. 'Duration' can be the inherent (= observer - independent) property of the situation denoted by the basic proposition, or it can be indicated adverbially (eg, by for - phrases) or verbally (by last, keep etc). Cf. Verkuyl (1972:111) who claims that durational for - adverbials and 'last a period of time' - expressions are transformationally related. Both bordercrossing and momentary activity predicates can occur in durative constructions, the interpretation of these sentences being one of 'iteration' (see § 5.6.3).

#### 5.3.2 Co-occurrence with various tense forms

§§ 5.3.2 - 5.3.5 will deal with agentive activity propositions only, non-agentive occurrences will be discussed in § 5.3.6. The simple present tense forms will be treated in more detail in §§ 5.6.2.1 and 5.6.2.2 in the sections on the 'habitual' and the 'non-habitual' use of this form.

5.3.2.1 In denoting the ongoingness of an activity situation at  $PR_1$  the EF of the present tense has to be selected obligatorily. Although the observations by Koschmieder (1929:51) and Marchand (1955:48) are correct that the G question Was machst du da? or the question 'What kind of activity is going on at the moment?' can only be answered in E by using an EF (or an imperfective verb form in Russian):

(5.3) What are you doing (right now)? -  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I am running} \\ * \text{I run} \end{array} \right\}.$

this so-called 'test-frame' is essentially vacuous, since it does not explain why the EF (or the optional deictic adverbial da in G) is used in the first place. The original question with the EF then simply requires an answer with the same form. This kind of argument is circular. The answer to the problem why the speaker says What are you doing (right now)? is to be found in the specific function of the EF in denoting progressive aktionsart. The EF of the present tense is to be used when an activity situation is observed or conceptualized by the speaker as 'in progression' at the moment of speaking: cf. Koschmieder's observation that Turkish has a separate formal category for this 'actual present' (1929:34). This is to say that the EF cannot be selected for all situations which 'take place' or exist at  $PR_1$ . Only those activities which can be observed or regarded as ongoing unbounded situations take the EF. The EF is therefore excluded from 'performatives' (see § 5.3.5) and certain instances of 'commentaries', 'demonstrations' and the like (see § 5.6.2.2).

We can observe the following entailment for an activity proposition containing an expanded present tense form:

(5.4)  $X \text{ is running (at } PR_1) \supset X \text{ has been running up to } PR_1$

In other words, we can only say John is running if John has already

begun running. If John is still 'stationary' we cannot use the EF. All situations going on at the moment of speaking, ie, being simultaneous with  $PR_1$ , must be 'incomplete'. This is however a consequence of the ongoingness of the event. The term 'incomplete' should therefore be avoided for a functional/semantic characterization of the EF. It is only certain predicates (accomplishments) that can truthfully be said to have an in-built notion of 'completion'. With activity propositions involving an EF this term is misleading (see also § 5.3.2.5 on equally misguided characterizations of certain perfect tense forms in terms of 'completion').

The ongoingness of the activity situation at  $PR_1$  is often given prominence by the use of still:

(5.5) Work has started on clearing up the damage in the Queensland state capital Brisbane. Teams of soldiers are still pumping water from the basements of the city's main buildings (BBC).

(5.6) 'Cattle smugglers. I'm not interested in cattle! -  
'You are still dreaming of diamonds, Major Scobie'  
(HM:87).  
... Sie träumen immer noch von Diamanten, Major Scobie.

This can be explained in terms of the parallel entailments of still/noch: Jack is still grinning implies that Jack is grinning now, at  $PR_1$ , and that he was also grinning some time before  $PR_1$ .<sup>1</sup> The still in (5.5) and (5.6) is probably stressed. This suggests in general that

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1. not anymore and no longer, on the other hand, imply that the event is not going on at  $PR_1$ , but was in progress some time before  $PR_1$ .



the implied preceding phrase, before  $PR_1$ , was longer than 'expected'. This idea is rendered in G by the use of (immer) noch. The speaker's evaluation in relation to an observed situation is sometimes spelled out in the G translation even if the E model sentence does not contain the adverbial still:

- (5.7) He could tell that Yusef was working late in his office (HM:229).

... dass Yusef noch spät in seinem Büro arbeitete.

The incompatibility of still/noch with irreversible absolute and relative states (see § 5.5.9.1):

- (5.8) \* Jack is still dead/tall/old.  
\* Jack ist noch tot/gross/alt.

would seem to indicate that these adverbs also imply a succeeding phase in which the denoted situation does not exist any more. This only goes to emphasize that unbounded or ongoing agentive activity situations are normally understood as involving the predication of 'variable' properties on a given subject argument, particularly human agents. We may note again that the EF is obligatory with instances of the 'actual present'.

The notion of ongoingness at  $PR_1$  can be expressed (optionally) in G by means of adverbial modification (da, gerade, eben, jetzt, hier, gegenwärtig etc):

- (5.9) Mary, what have you got under your desk, what are you looking at? (JB:11).

... was siehst du dir da an?

- (5.10) 'Once he came to see me when I had fever at Bamba. Once ...' - 'We are not cross-examining you, Scobie' (HM:137).

... Wir unterziehen Sie hier keinem Kreuzverhör.



(5.11) That's why I am writing ... (HM:189).

Deshalb schreibe ich dir jetzt.

Let us now follow up the question of whether the presence or absence of 'signal words' (now, at the moment, etc) has an effect upon the students' selection of expanded present tense verb forms in the case of 'actual present' (see § 3.4.2 for Filipović's observation with Serbo-Croatian learners):

No	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	Just now his aunt ____ for Tom who is hidden in the closet. Finally he is seized by her.	is looking	33	10
		looks	9	26
2	I practise a new composition which I have on one of my discs. At the moment I ____ on a sonata by Beethoven.	work	6	23½
		am working	36	7
3	'Where is Paul?' - 'Oh, he is not in. He ____ for his sister who has hidden herself somewhere in the garden'.	is looking	28	5½
		looks	14	18
4	'How are the piano lessons?' - 'Very good. I ____ on a sonata by Beethoven'.	am working	26	9
		work	16	17½
Test sentences: E & P - N=51		Acc.	Eval. * +	Pref. RI Σ
5	Was machst du da? - Ich schreibe einen Brief. a) What are you doing there? - I write a letter. b) What do you do there? - I am writing a letter. c) What do you do? - I am writing a letter. d) What do you do? - I write a letter. e) What are you doing? - I am writing a letter.	* * * * +	24 27 31 20 33 18 40 11 12 39	16 132 10 140 6 148 3 174 29 90
6	Was machst du? - Ich schreibe gerade einen Brief. a) What do you make? - Just I write a letter. b) What do you do? - I am writing a letter. c) What are you doing? - I am writing a letter. d) What are you doing? - Just I am writing a letter. e) What do you do? - I write just a letter.	* * + * *	43 8 19 32 13 38 17 34 38 13	5 198 16 132 29 100 14 119 3 178
7	'Wir haben gerade Englischunterricht', sagte die Lehrerin. a) 'We just have an English lesson', the teacher said. b) 'We are having an English lesson', the teacher said. c) 'Now we have an English lesson', the teacher said. d) 'Now we have English lesson', the teacher said. e) 'We are having English lesson', the teacher said.	* + * * *	15 36 33 18 18 33 44 7 36 15	26 98 10 138 14 115 5 185 6 172

Table 23: Actual present

From the figures in Table 23 (especially items 1 - 4) we can conclude that the appropriate selection of an expanded present verb form in the case of 'actuality' is significantly more frequent if an adverbial like now or at the moment is present, as compared to utterances where the ongoingness of the activity at PR<sub>1</sub> is implicitly understood, even when these adverbs are absent. Similarly, the objection scores to the use of the SF fall at a considerable rate in these latter contexts; ie, more students opt for the selection of the SF in a context where the choice of the EF is obligatory. About 75 per cent of the students choose the correct translation equivalent for the test sentence of 'actuality' (see above (5.3)) and give it first preference (items 5e, 6c). This is again a significantly higher proportion of students than those who produced this structure in the original translation task (receptive vs productive competence). But notice also that second preference is assigned to unacceptable structures which contain some kind of adverbial 'signal' of 'actuality' (there in 5a, just in 6d). The presence of these adverbial 'signal words' apparently becomes for many students an almost automatic 'trigger' for selecting a structure containing these words (see item 7a, c). In contrast, the correct translation equivalent involving the EF of an activity predicate is selected by far fewer students in the absence of a 'signal word' (see item 7b). The pedagogic strategy of associating closely the use of the EF and adverbial 'signals' has its adverse effects too. It is hoped that explanations about the semantics of this form and the situation/proposition involved may be of help to the students at this stage of their L<sub>2</sub> career (see § 6.3). The more or less 'automatic' associations between grammatical forms and certain lexemes should slowly be broken down.

5.3.2.2 By using adverbs like jetzt, gegenwärtig, etc, the speaker can refer either to the actual moment of speaking or to a period of time including  $PR_1$  (cf. the E time - when adverbials relative to  $PR_1$ : now, presently, nowadays, currently, (in) these days etc):

(5.12) She looked, it seemed to him, years younger because she was paying more attention to make-up (HM:244).

... weil sie jetzt grössere Sorgfalt auf Kosmetik verwandte.

(5.13) And more elaborate research on a broad scale is providing the basic knowledge that will solve the remaining mysteries of water seeking (W:76).

Weitere sorgfältige Forschungen grossen Stils ergänzen gegenwärtig das Grundlagenwissen, das auch die letzten Rätsel der Aufspürung von Grundwasser lösen wird.

(5.14) Britain has a good chance of getting a substantial proportion of Japanese investment in Europe, the area that their industrialists are now eyeing with increasing interest (BBC).

(5.15) One is C.S., who is a rock-n-roll singer who is currently working around the clubs (BBC).

These adverbs are often omitted in E since the reference to a period of time 'simultaneous' with  $PR_1$ , ie, one that includes  $PR_1$ , can generally be inferred from the context.

E now and G jetzt can have the additional implication that the present situation is seen in contrast to another situation preceding or superceding the former:



- (5.16) Now I am working on the EF. { I used to work on s.th.else. }  
Jetzt arbeite ich über die EF. { I will soon work on s.th. else. }

G nun, on the other hand, would always seem to imply a contrast to a preceding situation:

- (5.17) I never thought of coming back to Britain and now  
I am working in London.

... und nun arbeite ich in London.

- (5.18) Ian studied chemistry and now he is teaching physics.

... und nun unterrichtet er Physik.

If the situation obtaining at and around  $PR_1$  is understood as a 'habitual' one (see § 5.6.2.1); without the additional information that there is a contrast involved, the SF is the appropriate form:

- (5.19) The way they teach nowadays is too old for us  
(DS/FE, Machines).

- (5.20) If you send today a letter to your friend it goes  
first to the post office and then to your friend  
(NS/R, Post).

If there is an idea of contrast implied or explicitly stated in the context the relevant predicates become more readily amenable to expansion; both SF and EF are generally possible:

- (5.21) In former times women had to do all the housework,  
especially ... Gradually the girls began to go to  
school... And nowadays many girls { study } at  
university { are studying }  
(DS/FE, Woman).

- (5.22) Today the women { rebel } against their 'job'  
{ are rebelling }  
because they are not paid for their work (DS/FE, Woman).

Notice the respective absence or presence of this notion of contrast in the following stretch of discourse in which this type of adverbial

occurs twice:

(5.23) When we in our days take a letter to the post office with a penny-halfpenny stamp we know that it will arrive at the receiver. Before more than a hundred years that was not so ... explanation ... So in those days were sent far fewer letters in a year than in our times in a day (NS/R, Post).

(5.23a) When we (in our days) take a letter to the post office we know that the person to whom it is addressed will receive it. More than a hundred years ago this was not so ... So in those days far fewer letters {were sent  
were being sent} in a year than in our times in a day.

The students' reaction to this type of utterance (where contrast to another state of affairs is implied) is not very conclusive (Table 24). With item 1 we observe a distinct preference for the selection of the SF, whereas the scores with item 2 are again 'evenly balanced' (uncertainty ?) as regards the use of the two forms. Presenting to the learners the idea of 'variability' may result in a clearer understanding of what semantic principles are at work here (see § 6.3.):

No	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	In former times it lasted the whole day to clean the house. But today the industry ___ so many different machines which ___ it very easy to do the housework.	is producing	9	19½
		produces	33	4½
		make	30	4½
		are making	12	19½
2	In former times women had to do all the housework, especially... Gradually the girls began to go to school... And nowadays many girls ___ at university.	study	21	14½
		are studying	21	13½

Table 24: One state of affairs set in contrast to another state of affairs.



Other periphrastic means in G, apart from adverbs like da, gerade etc, for rendering an activity situation as being in progress at a particular PR are:

i) the locative verbal-noun construction:

(5.24) ... and while I am writing to you, what about membership of the old Downhamian Association? (HM:157).

... und wenn ich schon beim Schreiben bin, wie wäre es ...?

(5.25) I saw your light as I was passing (HM:157).  
Ich sah beim Vorüberfahren Ihr Licht.

ii) the structure 'sein + preposition + noun':

(5.26) His eyes seemed to search your face closely while he was speaking to you (1984:42).  
Seine Augen schienen im Gespräch das Gesicht des Gegenübers genau zu durchforschen.

(5.27) Three messages had slid out of the pneumatic tube while Winston was working (1984:38).  
... während Winston an der Arbeit war.

Cf. in this context the possible E periphrastic forms be at work/ study/prayer, which can also answer a question containing an EF:

(5.28) 'What are you doing in the art class just now?' -  
'We're at work on the poster competition' (JB:91).

Or: be in the act/process of doing s.th./ (gerade) im Begriff sein, etwas zu tun:

(5.29) Mr Lloyd was in the act of kissing Miss Brodie (JB:50).

5.3.2.3 Vendler (1967:101) observes the following entailment with activity propositions and durational adverbials:

"If it is true that someone has been running for half an hour, then it must be true that he has been running for every period within that half hour".

This entailment may also be stated as follows (given certain reservations as regards the notion of 'at all/any t' which will be discussed below):

(5.30)  $X + \text{Vact} - \text{ed} + \text{for } y \text{ time} \supset X + \text{Vact} - \text{ed at all/any } t \text{ during } y$

This contrasts significantly with the entailment of accomplishment predicates in the same environment (see § 5.4.2.2), where we cannot say for any substretch of that period that, eg, 'Jack built a house' or 'ran a mile'. In Vendler's words (1967:101):

"It appears, then, that running and its kind go on in time in a homogeneous way; any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole. Not so with running a mile or writing a letter; they also go on in time, but they proceed toward a terminus which is logically necessary to their being what they are".

There are, admittedly, difficulties with this notion of 'all points of time during a specified period of time'. Somehow we feel uneasy to assert that Mary danced for an hour implies that Mary danced at any arbitrary point during that period. Or we do not want to interpret a sentence like:

(5.31) Jack drove (has been driving) a Jaguar for the last two years.

in the sense that he never left this car at any point during these two years. The sentence can only be understood 'habitually'. We

therefore need some kind of modification for 'any' like: 'at all relevant or possible moments' during the specified period of time (cf. Dowty 1972:54: "relevant psychological moments"). A similar observation was made by Jespersen (1931:191), though in a different context, namely the co-occurrence of the EF with adverbs like always, constantly, all day long (see §5.6.4): "... in these combinations always does not mean 'at all times in the history of the world'..., but 'at all the times we are just now concerned with'". It is knowledge of the world that tells us why the first of the two subsequent discourses is contextually appropriate, whereas the second one is odd (for obvious pragmatic reasons, ie, 'physical impossibility'):

(5.32) I worked (have been working) in Edinburgh for the last two months. I did a lot of skiing over the weekends.

(5.33) My friend Wolf worked (has been working) on a freighter on the South America route for the last two months. \*He did a lot of skiing over the weekends (cf. also Dowty 1972:55).

The notion of 'all relevant or possible moments' also applies to the use of the EF in activity propositions in conjunction with other durational adverbials like this summer or until —, etc:

(5.34) 'Aren't you taking your car anymore?' - 'No, I'm walking (to university) this month'.

Although the scope of the adverbial can potentially cover the whole period of time, the reference is not to virtually 'all' points of time therein but rather to a series of fairly limited sub-stretches of time during which the event takes place 'every' morning.

5.3.2.4 The entailment for activity propositions containing an

expanded preterite tense form is:

- (5.35) X was running (when Y did s.th. at t)  $\supset$  X had been running up to t

Thus sentences like:

- (5.36) Bob was running { at noon  
when Jack stepped out of the house }.

are interpreted such that Bob's running was in progress at the point of reference ( $PR_2$ , ie, before the time of speaking) overtly specified in or implied by the context, and that there was a time stretch (non-specified in length) prior to this  $PR_2$  during which he had been running. The event may or may not have continued beyond the PR (cf. Jespersen's idea of 'temporal frame').

Frequently a definite point of time (=  $PR_2$ ), at or 'around' which the action denoted by the proposition is taking place (ie, stretching into the past and probably also into the future: see § 5.4.2.3 for an example justifying the use of 'probably' in this context), is overtly specified in a discourse:

- (5.37) After all, I'm experienced. I was driving a dust cart at the age of 19 (H:14).

Ich habe mit 19 ein Mullauto gefahren.

- (5.38) He was never really regarded as a particularly dramatic lyric interpreter. And yet, towards the end of his life, Nat was singing with more power and ... (BBC).<sup>1</sup>

- (5.40) In fact I got married in January of that year and was able to get my suit sown, before all the coupons came in, and so I was laughing because I wasn't

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1. Cf. the use of the SF in a proposition denoting a 'characteristic' or 'invariable' property of someone's singing:

(5.39) Listen to the way Sinatra responds to the words (BBC).

wearing any old army blankets (BBC).

Or the point of reference can be inferred from the context:

(5.41) 'Why did you knock?' - 'Harris was watching me' (HM:201).

Leech (1971:16) mentions the case that a detective, on interrogating someone, will probably ask the following question in the EF rather than the SF: What were you doing between 10 and 11 o'clock? The choice of the EF suggests two things:

- i) the speaker does not want to treat the action referred to in the utterance as a bounded situation, as an event begun at 10 and stopped at 11 o'clock, but allows for the possibility that it was going on before 10 and also after 11 o'clock,
- ii) the speaker has probably a definite point of time in mind. He may assume, eg, that the murder took place some time during this period. The situation denoted by the utterance containing the EF then serves as a 'frame' around this 'momentary' event, thereby setting up a definite point of reference at which the two events are related (see § 5.7.3 on 'incidence').

The group of students as a whole shows a uniform reaction to the two forms in this context. Both the evaluation and the preference score is the same (Table 25, a and c). We can assume that the learners are not aware of the 'reasons' which may make a speaker select the EF rather than the SF:

(Table 25)



Test sentences: E & P - N=51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
		*	+	RI	Σ
Kriminalkommissar fragt eine der Tat verdächtige Person: 'Was haben Sie am vergangenen Montag zwischen 10 and 11 Uhr gemacht?'					
a) What were you doing last Monday between 10 and 11 o'clock?	+	27	24	16	123
b) What have you done last Monday between 10 and 11 o'clock?	*	18	33	25	91
c) What did you do last Monday between 10 and 11 o'clock?	*	28	23	12	125
d) What have you been doing last Monday between 10 and 11 o'clock?	*	41	10	6	164

Table 25: Unbounded activity situation

The expanded preterite tense form of predicates denoting actions related to communication is frequently used by radio announcers, quiz masters and the like in referring to a longer stretch of discourse (eg, speeches, interviews, reviews, stories) that has immediately preceded the 'announcement':

(5.42) Michael McLean was reading His Wedded Wife by Rudyard Kipling. Tomorrow's morning story is called ... (BBC).

(5.43) Edward Greenfield who was talking to Alan Haydock is yet to be on Caleidoscope again on February the 6th to review ... (BBC).

(5.44) What programme was that gentleman referring to? (BBC).

(5.45) And for a third mark, if you can do the hat trick, what circumstances was he discussing? (BBC).

The notion of 'recent past' can be expressed in G by means of the adverbs gerade and eben (cf. the optional E just (now)):

(5.46) 'My health is not good'. - 'It's the first I've heard of it'. - 'I was telling Robinson at the bank today' (HM:220).

Gerade heute habe ich mit R. von der Bank  
darüber gesprochen.<sup>1</sup>

- (5.47) 'of course, you know more about it than we do',  
Dr Sykes said. - 'I'm sorry. I missed ...'. -  
'We were talking about the Pemberton case' (HM:185).  
... Wir sprachen eben vom Fall Pemberton.

We can observe students' utterances in which the SF is selected instead of the EF with 'verbs of communication' in contexts which require the expression of 'recent past':

- (5.49) In former times women had to do all the housework.  
Nowadays ... ? I discussed (⇒ was discussing) this  
problem last week with a group of boys and girls and  
all the boys answered: '...'. ? A girl said  
(⇒ was saying) that she would pay a housemaid with  
the money she earned (DS/FE, Woman).  
(5.50) Dr Watson said: 'That's all of great interest to me.'

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1. It may be noted that in the given contexts of the novel the referents of the grammatical subjects in the utterances containing the EF (Scobie, Dr Sykes et al.) are 'eager' to continue their tale or discussion. Both Scobie's health story and the discussion of the Pemberton case are 'bounded entities' mapped into the time axis. They therefore constitute, at least 'potentially', an accomplishment situation: Scobie told his health story, Dr Sykes et al discussed the Pemberton case (cf. tests like in an hour, etc). The use of the EF implies, however, that the story or the discussion is not completed at the respective PR. Cf. Leech's related example and his subsequent comment (1971:27):

(5.48) A: 'Did you hear about that awful Mrs Betts quarrelling with her neighbour?'

B: 'Yes my daughter was telling me about it'.

"This would not imply total knowledge, and so would politely leave the way open for a continuation of the story. But the tale-bearer might be silenced by a similar reply with the Simple Past Tense ..., as this would carry the presupposition 'Yes, I know the whole story, so don't bother to tell me'".

The question of the semantic properties of sentences containing an accomplishment predicate in the EF will be taken up in greater detail in § 5.4.2.3. See § 5.3.5.2, on the 'tentativeness' associated with utterances containing EFs of 'verbs of saying'.

? But you spoke just now ( $\Rightarrow$  were just speaking) of observation and deduction. What's the difference between both ( $\Rightarrow$  the two)? (NS/GE, Holmes).

The EPs show that the use of the SF in this context seems to be a very general feature of these learners' E (Table 26, item c).

Again they 'prefer' structures containing the adverbial just:

Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
		*	+	RI	$\Sigma$
Gerade heute habe ich mit Mary darüber gesprochen.					
a) Just today I had told Mary about this.	*	25	22	17	132
b) Only today I have told Mary about this.	*	38	13	7	163
c) I was telling Mary today about this.	+	40	11	7	165
d) Just today I told Mary about this.	+	24	27	15	124
e) Just today I am telling Mary about this.	*	36	15	11	167

Table 26: Recent past

5.3.2.5 On the simple present perfect tense form: If we refer, in an activity proposition, to the repeated action of an agent, sentences containing the simple present perfect tense form are ambiguous as to the 'resultative' or the 'continuative' reading (see the next footnote below):

(5.51) Janice has stripped before (now) to make some money,

{ but now she doesn't any more }  
and she still does

As was already pointed out in § 5.2.1.8, activity propositions containing a simple, as opposed to an expanded, present perfect tense form are rather odd 'in isolation':

(4.92) ? He has cried/laughed/run.

(4.93) He has been crying/laughing/running.

Equally acceptable without 'special contexts' is the SF in these propositions in co-occurrence with durational adverbials:

(5.52) He has cried/laughed/run for hours/every night  
this month.

As elliptical utterances, where the adverbial can be recovered from

the context, sentences like (4.92) are possible:

- (5.53) 'I told you you shouldn't smoke any more. So  
have you smoked today?' - 'Yes, I have smoked'.

If an utterance like John has run refers to a single event completed before now, where PR, is eg, 7 pm, we cannot say:

- (5.54)\* John has run [eg, this morning], and he is still running.

- (5.55)\* John has run, but he isn't running any more.

This would be either a contradiction or a tautology (a contrast that does not exist); cf. Leech (1974:85f): something that is 'invariably false' or 'true'. If we understand John has run for two hours as denoting a single event we can have either the 'resultative' or the 'continuative' reading<sup>1</sup> depending on the specific kind of context the sentence occurs in. The E perfect (have + en) itself is not, by some 'inherent meaning', as the writers referred to in the footnote below assume, either 'resultative' or 'continuative'. These are interpretations of whole sentences, which are dependent upon the semantic properties of the basic proposition and/or the type of adverbial they collocate with. It may be noted here in passing that the 'resultative' reading occurs primarily with the bounded bordercrossing and accomplishment propositions. Most examples of 'resultative perfects' given in traditional descriptions contain

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1. Most traditional grammarians since Kruisinga (1931:390f), who used these two terms, distinguish between - at least - the 'continuative' and the 'resultative perfect': cf. Jespersen 1931, Poutsma 1926, Curme 1935, Zandvoort 1972. Similar notions like 'duration of state/habit up to the present moment' and 'resultative use' can be found in Leech (1969:153ff). The characterizations of the 'meanings' or 'uses' of the E have + en form encountered in the above grammars, are empirically untenable. There is no such thing as two 'perfects' in E.



accomplishment predicates. Cf. also the entailment with an accomplishment proposition given by Leech (1969:157):

(5.56) He has broken the chair.  $\supset$  The chair is (still) broken.

Only with this latter type of proposition the term 'completion' may be justified when talking about the simple present perfect tense form. However, the term 'completion' had better be avoided altogether in a semantic characterization of the E perfect.<sup>1</sup> It has no place in the case of unbounded activity (and state) propositions which have no idea of 'telos' or 'completion' associated with them.

The so-called 'continuative' perfect: The most common interpretation of activity propositions containing a simple present perfect tense form is, probably, the 'continuative' one: 'action has occurred throughout a period of time leading up to  $PR_1$ '. This is, however, either marked by appropriate adverbials:

(5.58) David has run  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{for two hours now} \\ \text{for the last two hours} \end{array} \right\}$  .

David läuft (jetzt) (schon) seit zwei Stunden.

or the action referred to by an utterance like:

(5.59) David has run for two hours.

is overtly observable as still being in progress at  $PR_1$  (ie, a pragmatic matter). Thus there is no forcible communicative necessity in overtly specifying the situation as it obtains at  $PR_1$ . With the

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1. Hill (1958:211ff) claims 'completion' to be the defining function of the E perfect. He applies this concept even to state propositions like I have been hungry all day: "... it is more difficult to arrive at the component of completeness ... completeness, however, is still there, though it is now translated from the action to the period of time" (Hill 1958:213). However, we can say:

(5.57) I have been hungry all day, but I am not now.

Cf. also Ota 1963:55. Notice also the possible confusion arising from a characterization of have + en in terms of 'completion' and of be + ing in terms of 'incompleteness'. The expanded perfect tense forms would then denote 'incomplete completion'. Questions of terminology are important, since 'semantic labels' do matter in a pedagogic grammar.



'continuative' interpretation both the E and the G sentence of (5.58) are (in)compatible with:

'... and he still does'.

\* '... but now he doesn't any more'.

E durational adverbials of the for-type, contrary to the G ones involving seit, do not by themselves denote whether the situation does or does not lead up to  $PR_1$ . They are not 'relative' adverbials of duration (see below § 5.3.2.6, discussion of sentence (5.86)).

Notice the following interference based errors which occur here:

i) the students select the conjunction since instead of for:

(5.60)\* This watch has been in my possession since  
short time ( $\Rightarrow$  for some time) (NS/GE, Holmes).

G seit can refer to both points and periods of time.

ii) the present tense form is used:

(5.61)\* I know this because I see all morning your  
desk with a bundle of postcards (NS/GE, Holmes).

(5.61a) ... because I have seen your desk with a bundle  
of postcards on it all morning.

(5.62)\* His friends laughed and since that time that  
story is told ( $\Rightarrow$  has been told) in England  
(NS/R, Knight).

A satisfactory analysis of have + en has to take into account that the 'time of action' need not necessarily coincide with the 'point of reference' ( $= PR_2$ ): cf. Reichenbach (1947:288); see § 4.8.1. Thus the action referred to in the elliptical utterance John has run took place anterior to the moment of speaking ( $= PR_1$ ), ie, in the past. In Sørensen's words: it is an "accomplished fact" at  $PR_1$  (Sørensen 1964:75). What distinguishes the use of the present perfect from the preterite tense form is that with the former the

time-reference is 'not-definite', which is to say that the event took place at some (unidentified) time before now (=  $PR_1$ ), whereas with the latter (= preterite tense) a 'definite time' is identified, which is to say that both time of the event and the (secondary) point of reference  $PR_2$  (= 'other than now') lie in the past. Hence the incompatibility of the present perfect tense form with time-when adverbials locating an event at some 'identified' time in the past (which can then serve as a  $PR_2$  for subsequent utterances in a discourse):

(5.63)\* John has run at 10 am last night/this morning/in  
1972.

In other words, if the speaker does not want to specify explicitly (or implicitly) a 'definite' time of action (where the latter is thought of, so to speak, as being 'severed' from  $PR_1$ ), he will have to employ a perfect tense form.. The overlap of 'point of the event' (= 'time of action') and 'point of reference' (which, with present perfect forms, coincides with  $PR_1$ ), as it obtains in the case of utterances which are interpreted as 'continuative', is due to the interplay of the (present) perfect tense form of an unbounded predicate (activities but also states) and a 'relative' adverbial denoting a period of time stretching up to the 'point of reference' (=  $PR_2$  with present perfect forms). The elements indicating the 'relativity' to the point of reference (now, last/past, since etc) can be omitted in actual utterances (= elliptical), since the situation existing at a 'point of reference', especially  $PR_1$ , is usually self-evident. We can conclude that the idea of 'continuity', ie, 'time of action' leading up to 'point of reference', is not a defining property of the form have + en.

The so-called 'resultative' perfect: This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the simple present perfect tense form can be employed in activity propositions where the period of time denoted by the adverbial (throughout which the action took place) does not stretch up to the moment of speaking (= 'resultative' reading of the utterance):

(5.64) ( $PR_1$  = 5 pm): David has run for two hours this morning.<sup>1</sup>

David ist heute morgen zwei Stunden  
gelaufen.

Both the E and the G sentence are incompatible with:

- \* '... and he still does' (= contradiction).
- \* '... but now he doesn't any more (= tautology).

Notice that this morning in (5.64) can be paraphrased by 'today in the morning' (cf. Leech 1971:41), where today necessarily includes  $PR_1$ . 'Point of the event' (Reichenbach) was, however, at some indefinite time before  $PR_1$ . The situation denoted by (5.64) therefore fulfils the condition for the use of the present perfect form as it was stated in § 4.8.1: 'an event occurred at some unidentified time in the past but in a period leading up to now'.

This analysis is not invalidated by the observation that the more 'usual' way of expressing the situation encoded by (5.64) is by means of the simple preterite or the expanded present perfect tense form:

(5.65) ( $PR_1$  = 5 pm): David ran for two hours this morning.

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1. We may note again that a continuation of the utterance in the form: '... and this is why he is still tired and sitting in a deckchair to recover', which assumedly underlines the 'resultative character of the perfect' (cf. Palmer 1965:75) is a matter of 'factual' but not of 'semantic' implication.

- (5.66) ( $PR_1 = 5 \text{ pm}$ ): David has been running for two hours  
this morning.

In (5.65) the adverb this morning is read as 'the morning of today'; it does not include  $PR_1$ . The expanded present perfect tense form is also felt to be more 'natural' with activity propositions having a 'continuative' interpretation (notice the presence of the point tensor since ...: the endpoint of the period,  $PR_1$ , is implicitly understood):

- (5.67) David has been running since noon.

rather than:

- (5.68) David has run since noon.

We come to the conclusion that the perfect qua perfect, have + en, has no implication as to whether the action occurred right up (and probably beyond) the point of reference, or whether it ceased some time before PR. Notions like 'continuative' and 'resultative' are context-dependent interpretations of whole sentences or elliptical utterances.

Preterite or perfect? - We will return now to sentences like (5.63), which represent, because of the interlingual difference between E and G, a major learning problem for G learners of E. The composition corpus contains 19 examples of correctly selected simple preterite tense forms and 5 examples of incorrectly chosen simple present perfect tense forms in conjunction with a time-when adverbial locating an event at some 'identified' time in the past (the type of propositions is not taken into account in these figures and the subsequent examples):

- (5.69) At the end of the 19th century the women got more  
influence by the 'Frauen-Bewegung' (DS/FE, Woman).

- (5.70) Before 30 years ( $\Rightarrow$  30 years ago) people thought that a woman's place is in the kitchen (DS/FE, Woman).
- (5.71)\* Finally he answers: 'The watch has been made ( $\Rightarrow$  was made) 50 years ago. It was very expensive...'  
(NS/GE, Holmes).
- (5.72)\* With motor cycles so many accidents take place. I have seen ( $\Rightarrow$  saw) a young boy when I was in hospital (DS/FE, Car).

Without the accompanying adverbial of time-when in the same sentence the number of erroneously used simple present perfect tense forms increases to 12 in the CC. These errors are due to the fact that the G perfect form can be employed even if identified time is referred to. This suggests the hypothesis that time-when adverbials serve as signals as regards the selection of the appropriate simple preterite tense form. Since there are no exceptions to this rule about the use of the preterite tense form if an identified time is referred to, this is certainly good teaching practice. An adequate pedagogic grammar will, however, have to enable the student to 'identify' definite time reference even without the help of these adverbial 'footholds', as for example in:

- (5.73)\* The darkie was as pale as death and said: 'But who was the wildly fighting man I have set ( $\Rightarrow$  I put out) in Pittsburgh, and who has lived ( $\Rightarrow$  was sleeping) in berth number six?' (NS/R, Thrown off).
- (5.74)\* Tom and Huck have had ( $\Rightarrow$  had) many adventures. So they have seen ( $\Rightarrow$  saw) how Dr Robinson was murdered (NS/GE, Sawyer).

In comparison the number of inappropriately employed simple preterite tense forms which have to be reconstructed by present



perfect forms is relatively smaller. Only three cases are found in the CC:

- (5.75) Earlier the men had the opinion that ...\* But in the run of time the opinion changed. More and more women learn a work and nowadays ... (DS/FE, Women).
- (5.75a) ... But over the years opinion has changed ...
- (5.76) Her husband only said when he came home: 'Here's a spot in my suit. Why didn't you do ( $\Rightarrow$ haven't you done) something against it?' (DS/FE, Women).

Since these happen to be inchoative and accomplishment propositions the resultant states that have come about by the respective changes-of-state are understood as still obtaining at  $PR_1$ ; hence the necessity for the use of present perfect tense forms.

Eliciting the students' reactions to some of these utterances yields the following picture (Table 27):

No	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	Last week I ___ a motor cycle that was so as the motor cycle which I would buy.	have seen	26	8½
2	In Switzerland women ___ the right of electing the parliament in 1970.	saw	16	12
3	The train attendant was as pale as death and said: 'But who was that wildly fighting man I ___ in Pittsburgh?'	got	11	21½
4	The man who ___ the 'Penny Post' was Rowland Hill.	have got	31	7½
5	Earlier men had the opinion that ... But over the years the opinion ___. More and more women learn a work and nowadays ...	have put out	25	12
6	Her husband only said when he came home: 'Here is a spot in my suit. Why ___ something against it?'	put out	17	16½
		invented	20	12½
		has invented	22	12
		changed	16	15
		has changed	26	15½
		haven't you done	26	13½
		didn't you do	16	15½
	Test sentences: E & P - N=51	Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI Σ
7	David hat gestern abend wild getanzt. a) Yesterday night David has danced wildly. b) David danced wildly yesterday night. c) David was dancing wildly yesterday night. d) David has danced wildly yesterday night.	* + + *	16 35 31 20 31 20 21 30	20 115 10 143 8 160 14 136
8	David ist gestern abend gelaufen. a) Yesterday night David has run. b) David ran yesterday night. c) Yesterday night David is running. d) David is run yesterday night.	* + * *	26 25 33 18 47 4 43 8	15 136 9 151 6 178 6 175

Table 27: Use of preterite and perfect tense forms

The most salient feature of the learners' use of the two tense forms in question is the more or less constant preference for a present perfect tense form, regardless of whether an adverbial of time-when is present or not, or whether it is an activity or change-of-state proposition. On average it is about 60 - 65 per cent of the total group that opt for a perfect rather than a preterite tense form (note also the preference scores with items 7a and 8a). The rather indiscriminate use of perfect tense forms in E suggests that the influence of the learners'  $L_1$  is still very strong at this stage of their  $L_2$  proficiency. A larger percentage of the group does not have internalized yet the distinction between identified and unidentified time in E. The students' fairly consistent over-indulgence in the use

of the E perfect, rather than the preterite, will also give them 'random' successes, as the figures for items 5 and 6 show. We conclude that the appropriate use of the E preterite tense in the case of explicitly stated or implicitly understood 'definite' time is not yet part of the IL of the larger part of this group of learners. The presence of time-when adverbials does not seem to have the 'stabilizing effect' or 'signalling force' (for selecting a preterite tense form) which it may have assumed to have on the basis of the results of the PA. The incorporation of the ideas of 'identified' and 'unidentified' time into the pedagogic grammar may be a more secure basis for the learners to make the appropriate choices (see § 6.3).

5.3.2.6 On the expanded present perfect tense form: Activity situations which are not intended to be located at any 'identified' time in the past, and where the basic proposition is not modified in any other specific way, are most 'naturally' encoded by selecting the EF of the present perfect. Out of context these sentences are open to either the 'continuative' or the 'resultative' interpretation:

(5.77) Bob has been running, and he still is.

(5.78) Bob has been running, but he isn't any more.

This is not a matter of implication, ie, we cannot assert that Bob has been running implies either Bob is still running or Bob isn't running any more. Rather we should say that Bob has been running is not incompatible with either the 'continuative' or the 'resultative' interpretation. In the corpus used for this study (see § 2.2.10, footnote p. 16) the instances of activity propositions containing an expanded present perfect tense form which allow either a 'resultative' or a 'continuative' interpretation stand in a relationship of 1 : 1 (20 vs. 21 examples). The two different readings are due to adverbial

modification (notice that most examples given in the overall/pedagogic grammars have a since or up to now - adverbial) or to contextually derivable information.

The so-called 'resultative' perfect: From radio announcers we can hear immediately after the end of a particular programme:

(5.79) You have been listening to Dr Finlay's Casebook (BBC).

(5.80) We have been celebrating the art of John Ogden in  
a programme written and produced by ... (BBC).

The addition of just emphasizes the notion of recent past time.

Factual inferences from observed situations (eg, This room smells) can be encoded in both the SF and the EF of the present perfect:

(5.81) Someone has smoked/been smoking here.

Without adverbial modification the EF is again the 'preferred' form in activity propositions of this kind, particularly if the speaker chooses to 'emphasize' the dynamic character of the process that went on some time before now:

(5.82) Scobie observing that the bottle of gin is half-empty:  
'You've been drinking it neat?' - 'Oh, no. I  
haven't touched it. The boy upset it' (HM:130).

Utterances in which the expanded perfect tense form is interpreted as 'resultative' are normally rendered in G by perfect tense forms (the latter being the dominant form in conversational/discursive speech, whereas the preterite tense form tends to be dominant in NS: cf. Weinrich 1971 and the works referred to therein). Adverbials denoting recent past, like gerade or eben, are optional:

(5.83) 'And now the letters please ... Dave's letters'. -

'But I have been distributing leaflets'. - 'You  
have been reading them' (CSB:38).

Ich habe doch Flugblätter verteilt ... - Du hast sie  
gelesen.

- (5.84) Louise said: 'Mrs Castle's been in'. - 'Enough to make anyone ill'. - 'She's been telling me about you' (HM:23).

... Sie hat über dich geredet.

- (5.85) Yusef said, 'Your sergeant has been looking for bills, but he could not find any' (HM:86).

Ihr Sergeant hat nach Rechnungen gesucht, aber keine finden können.

These sentences could also have contained simple preterite instead of the expanded present perfect tense forms: see above (5.65) and (5.66). The distinction is an 'aspectual' one, in the broadest possible sense: by selecting the EF, the speaker chooses to regard more the ongoingness or the 'dynamic' character of the denoted activity, as opposed to the 'presentation' of the situation as a 'bounded event' (an event seen in its entirety, or as some grammarians called it a 'mere statement of fact': Bodelsen 1964, Hatcher 1951) implicit in the use of a simple preterite tense form. Furthermore, by selecting a perfect instead of a preterite tense form, the speaker opts for an unidentified rather than an identified time reference.

A serious learning problem for G learners of E arises when the perfect tense form co-occurs with durational adverbials:

- (5.86) Ich bin lange/zwei Stunden lang gelaufen.

The problem is twofold:

- i) the G perfect, contrary to the E perfect, is a 'pure past tense': the situation denoted by the sentence is thought of as separated from the point of reference (=  $PR_1$  in the case of present perfect tense forms).
- ii) 'Absolute' E durational adverbials like for a long time,



for (3) days, etc (see § 4.8.2, Fig. 5) do not by themselves indicate whether the period of time they denote, and throughout which the action takes place, extends up to the point of reference (as always with 'relative' durational adverbials) or ends at some point before the PR. With the 'absolute' adverbials the 'resultative' and the 'continuative' interpretation is again context-dependent. G, on the other hand, uses two sets of durational adverbials: situations stretching up to PR are encoded by schon or seit<sup>1</sup> & period of time (schon lange, seit langem; schon 3 Tage, seit 3 Tagen, etc), situations ending before PR are encoded by the period of time-phrase alone (lange, 3 Tage, tagelang, den ganzen Tag, etc).

The G learner of E will therefore tend to translate (5.86) as follows (as became apparent in the preliminary translation test: see § 2.3.2):

(5.86a)(\*) I have run  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{long} \\ \text{a long time} \\ \text{for a long time} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{two hours} \\ \text{two hours long} \\ \text{for two hours} \end{array} \right\}.$

Utterances like these, as was pointed out above (see § 5.3.2.5, sentence (5.59)), are usually interpreted as 'continuative': I have run for a long time/for two hours now. But this is exactly what the G sentence (5.86) does not convey: the event referred to in (5.86) came to an end before the point of reference (here: PR<sub>1</sub>).<sup>2</sup> Translation

- 
1. since and seit are not really equivalent: since can only be followed by a point of time adverb (= point tensor: cf. Bull 1960:15), seit can also be employed with a period of time calendar (seit 3 Tagen = for the last 3 days).
  2. This source of error is even more striking with state propositions: (5.87) Ich habe meiner Frau 15 Jahre lang vertraut.  
 $\neq$  I have trusted my wife for 15 years (now).  
but: I trusted my wife for 15 years.

equivalents of (5.86) are, given the proviso of the 'aspectual' differentiations made above:

(5.86b) I ran for a long time/for two hours.

(5.86c) I have been running for a long time/for two hours.

Here are a few examples of expanded present perfect tense forms used in co-occurrence with durational adverbials of the for-type in activity sentences having a 'resultative' reading:

(5.88) 'Who do you think I am, your mother? ... Go and find yourself a mother'. - 'I've been training down at the gym'. - 'Yes, the boy's been working all day and training all night' (H:16).

Ja, der Junge hat den ganzen Tag gearbeitet und den ganzen <sup>Abend</sup> ~~Tag~~ trainiert.

(5.89) You have been travelling all day (CSB:70).  
Du warst den ganzen Tag unterwegs.

(5.90) I've brought you some stamps. I've been collecting them for a week - from everybody (HM:147).  
Ich habe sie in der vergangenen Woche bei allen Bekannten gesammelt.

The so-called 'continuative' perfect: Activity sentences containing an expanded perfect tense form are interpreted as 'continuative', if there is at least one of the following contextual elements present:

- i) contextually derivable information,
- ii) a since - adverbial,
- iii) a for - adverbial in connection with adverbial modifiers like last, past etc.
- iv) 'relative' durational adverbials like up to now, up till then; but also all one's life which can only co-occur with

have + en if the person referred to is still alive.

The 'continuative' interpretation is rendered in G by either a present or a perfect tense form in conjunction with 'relative' durational adverbials such as:

- i) schon/seit/schon seit & period of time,
- ii) bis dahin,
- iii) in letzter Zeit, in den letzten 3 Tagen, etc

Here is an example where the 'continuative' reading is provided with the help of contextual information:

- (5.91) 'Well, Scobie, what are our superiors doing in the city?' - 'Oh, nothing very much has been happening. People are too busy with the war (HM:107).  
... Ach, es ist nicht viel los.

The collocation of expanded present perfect tense forms with point or calendar tensors resulting in the 'continuative' interpretation of an activity sentence is usually expressed in G by means of the present tense plus a 'relative' schon seit - phrase:

- (5.92) He said, 'I've been waiting for you ever since the funeral (HM:124).

Ich suche Sie schon seit dem Begräbnis.

- (5.93) Water traps impurities of all sort. And man has been using his rivers and lakes as waste-paper baskets since the dawn of history (W:175).

Und schon seit Urzeiten benutzt der Mensch die Seen und Flüsse als Abfalleimer.

Notice that 'absolute' durational for - adverbials can also be employed in activity sentences where the denoted situation is understood as stretching up to the point of reference (here PR<sub>1</sub>: note the use of jetzt in (5.99)):

- (5.94) With us it doesn't work. Please don't speak.  
I've been thinking about this for weeks (HM:242).  
Ich denke schon seit Wochen darüber nach.
- (5.95) We have been reading this part of the Bible for  
a month, so you should be able to answer my  
question (LDR/64).  
Jetzt lesen wir seit einem Monat dieses Stück  
aus der Bibel.

Apart from the present tense, the perfect tense can be chosen in G, together with a 'relative' durational adverbial, in order to express the idea of 'continuation' up to PR:

- (5.96) 'I've been using the same blade for six weeks',  
he added untruthfully (1984:42).  
Ich habe seit 6 Wochen die gleiche Klinge benutzt.

The difference between the two G tense forms in this context in relation to the compatibility with the 'continuative' and the 'resultative' interpretation is as follows:

- (5.97) Ich benutze schon seit 6 Wochen die gleiche Klinge,  
\* aber jetzt benutze ich sie nicht mehr.
- (5.98) Ich habe schon seit 6 Wochen die gleiche Klinge  
benutzt, aber jetzt benutze ich <sup>sie</sup> nicht mehr.

The present tense is selected if the denoted situation has been and still is at PR<sub>1</sub> (and will probably continue to be in the future too). The use of a perfect tense form, on the other hand, allows not only this interpretation but also the reading that at the very moment of speaking the denoted situation has ceased to exist. Hence it will be employed when a situation comes to an end at a particular PR:

- (5.99) They went to the counter for a meal. While they  
were waiting to be served two men who had been

watching Ernest for the last few days stood up and walked over to him (CDR:58).

Während sie darauf warteten, bedient zu werden, standen die beiden gutgekleideten Männer auf, die Ernst an den letzten Tagen beobachtet hatten, und gingen hinüber zu ihm.

Or imagine the situation that somebody is anxiously waiting for someone else to help him in a specific activity. Finally this person arrives. The first person stops the activity and says (ie, the activity has come to an end for the speaker at PR<sub>1</sub>) - using the perfect and not the present tense forms:

(5.100) Ich habe schon seit zwei Stunden diesen Karren gezogen. Gut, dass du da bist. Jetzt kannst du weitermachen.

I have been pulling this cart for two hours (now).  
Thank Heavens, you're here. You can carry on now.

Other examples for the use of 'relative' durational adverbials yielding 'continuative' interpretations:

(5.101) I have been looking after myself for the last three years (LDR:77).  
Seit drei Jahren schlage ich mich allein durch.

(5.102) I've been asking myself all sorts of questions up to now (LDR:10).  
Ich hab mir die ganze Zeit die verschiedensten Fragen vorgelegt.

(5.103) ... because I feel that up till then I haven't been running (LDR:37).  
... weil ich spüre, dass ich bis dahin noch gar nicht gelaufen bin.



We may finally observe that the situation denoted by activity propositions containing an expanded preterite tense form takes place in a period of time that is thought of as being 'definitely' located before the moment of speaking and as having no connection with  $PR_1$ . This form is therefore incompatible, contrary to expanded present perfect tense forms, with 'relative' durational adverbials denoting a period of time leading up to  $PR_1$ :

(5.104) Bob {has been running  
was running} for one hour.

(5.105)\* Bob was running {for the last/past hour  
since noon}.

(5.106) Bob has been running {for the last/past hour  
since noon}.

Conclusion: The alleged ambiguity of the E have + en - form is a pseudo-problem. These forms can be disambiguated by means of contextually derivable information. It is entire sentences or elliptical utterances that can take on either the 'resultative' or the 'continuative' interpretation.

5.3.2.7 The students' use of have + en: We will first follow up the students' performance with respect to utterances involving a perfect tense form which have a 'resultative' interpretation (Table 28):

No	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	It ____.	has snowed	25	10½
		has been	17	17½
2	Peter ____ cards.	snowing		
		has been	16	17
		playing	26	10
3	Teacher: 'Sandy, your attention is wandering. What ____ about?'	has played	14	15½
		have I been	28	14½
		talking		
		have I	25	17½
4	Krankenschwester zu einem Vater, der seinem Sohn im Krankenhaus vorgelesen hat: 'That will do. Quite enough for the day. And what ____ you, Jimmy?'	talked		
		has he read	17	19
		has he been		
		reading		
Test sentences: E & P - N+51		Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI Σ
5	Mary hat wild getanzt.			
	a) Mary had danced wildly.	*	35 16	13 143
	b) Mary has danced wildly.	*	19 32	26 103
	c) Mary danced wildly.	+	35 16	7 148
	d) Mary was dancing wildly.	*	34 17	5 146
	e) Mary has been dancing wildly.	+	37 14	3 178
6	Mary hat 2 Stunden wild getanzt.			
	a) Mary has been dancing wildly for 2 hours.	+	37 14	11 169
	b) Mary had danced wildly for 2 hours.	*	41 10	9 163
	c) Mary has danced wildly for 2 hours.	*	20 31	22 112
	d) Mary danced wildly for 2 hours.	+	32 19	5 149
	e) Mary was dancing wildly for 2 hours.	+	24 27	8 150

Table 28: Resultative perfect

We observe very consistent selection scores for simple and expanded perfect tense forms (items 1 - 4), with a distinct preference for the SF. The evaluation scores in the E&P - test show a similar distribution: compare 5b with 5e and 6c with 6a. First preference is clearly given to the sentences with a simple present perfect tense form. Both the simple preterite and the expanded present perfect tense are not accepted as translation equivalents of a G perfect tense form by at least two thirds of the group. The sentences containing the EF of have + en are the 'least liked' translations of the G sentence (cf. the cumulative preference scores for items 5e and 6a).

Utterances involving perfect tense forms which are understood

continuatively (see Table 29) have very similar selection and evaluation scores as regards the EF of this tense. In the E & P - test there is hardly any difference whatever in the evaluation and preference scores in relation to the SF or EF of have + en: compare 2b with 2e and 3c with 3d. First preference is given in both instances to an unacceptable structure which closely resembles the construction in the learners' L<sub>1</sub> ('expanded present tense form & since-adverbial': cf. items 2c and 3e):

No	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	Lehrer, der mit seiner Klasse schon einen Monat an einer Geschichte liest: 'We __ this story for a month, so you should be able to answer my question'.	have read have been reading	25 17	13½ 17½
	Test sentences: E & P - N=51	Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI Z
2	David läuft jetzt schon 2 Stunden. a) David is running till 2 hours. b) David has run for 2 hours now. c) David is running since 2 hours. d) Now David runs for 2 hours. e) David has been running for 2 hours now.	* + * * +	33 18 39 12 26 25 27 24 37 14	9 136 7 167 17 123 16 143 7 169
3	Ich suche Sie jetzt schon seit 12 Uhr mittags. a) Now I look for you till noon. b) I look for you since noon now. c) I have looked for you since noon now. d) I have been looking for you since noon now. e) I am looking for you since noon now.	* * + + *	45 6 35 16 38 13 33 18 22 29	8 170 10 145 4 151 12 150 25 109

Table 29: Continuative perfect.

The students' reactions with respect to the 'resultative' and 'continuative' reading of utterances containing simple and expanded present perfect tense forms were further investigated by means of an interpretation test (Table 30):

No	Test sentences: CI - N=42	Yes	No	?	-
1	John has run.				
	a) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch.	8	32	2	0
	b) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr.	31	9	2	0
	c) Der Vorgang des Laufens ist bereits abgeschlossen, hat aber noch für die Gegenwart Bedeutung.	17	17	1	7
2	John has been running.				
	a) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch.	11	27	4	0
	b) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr.	26	13	2	1
	c) Der Vorgang des Laufens ist bereits abgeschlossen, hat aber noch für die Gegenwart Bedeutung.	29	13	0	0
3	John has run for 2 hours.				
	a) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch.	7	32	1	2
	b) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr.	31	8	1	2
	c) Der Vorgang des Laufens ist bereits abgeschlossen, hat aber noch für die Gegenwart Bedeutung.	22	14	4	2
4	John has been running for 2 hours.				
	a) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr.	25	13	4	0
	b) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch.	10	27	5	0
	c) Der Vorgang des Laufens ist bereits abgeschlossen, hat aber noch für die Gegenwart Bedeutung.	29	7	4	2
5	John has run since noon.				
	a) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch.	11	25	5	1
	b) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr.	24	13	4	1
	c) Der Vorgang des Laufens ist bereits abgeschlossen, hat aber noch für die Gegenwart Bedeutung.	18	15	5	4
6	John has been running since noon.				
	a) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr.	22	16	3	1
	b) John läuft im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch.	16	22	4	0
	c) Der Vorgang des Laufens ist bereits abgeschlossen, hat aber noch für die Gegenwart Bedeutung.	17	17	3	5

Table 30: Resultative and continuative reading of perfect tense forms

There are four points to be made (Table 30):

- i) the 'resultative' reading ('activity ceased before now') is the dominant one with all 6 sentences; even with utterances 5 and 6 which, because of the point tensor since, must be interpreted 'continuatively',
- ii) the number of 'continuative' readings increases with utterances containing a since - adverbial (items 5 and 6), as compared to those having a for - adverbial or none at all. The majority of students opt, however, still for the 'resultative' interpretation,
- iii) the utterances containing an expanded present perfect tense

form are given less frequently the 'resultative' reading than the corresponding minimal pair utterances involving the SF of have + en. In other words: sentences with the activity predicate in the expanded present perfect tense form are understood (slightly) more often in the 'continuative' sense than those containing a SF of have + en,

- iv) at least 50 per cent of the students see the idea of 'current relevance' operating with these sentences (which presupposes, of course, that the activity must have stopped before  $PR_1$ ).

The most salient feature of the students' reactions to these sentences is the marked preference of the 'resultative' reading. This is even more surprising with sentences containing scalar or point tensors, particularly because sentences involving for and since - adverbials are said by the pedagogic grammar with which these students were taught (see § 6.1) to have always the 'continuative' interpretation. However, on the basis of the CI-test we must conclude that the presence of these adverbials does not 'secure' or 'trigger off' the 'continuative' reading of sentences containing present perfect tense forms. We may speculate that this is again due to the influence of the learners'  $L_1$ , in which the perfect tense is a 'pure past' tense.

We also followed up the question whether the two forms are interpreted differently as regards such notions like 'more idiomatic E', 'duration' and 'recency' of the event (Table 32):



No	Test sentences: CI - N=42	Yes	No	?	-
1	Vergleiche: 'John has run' und 'John has been running'. a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt: b) 'John has been running' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'John has run'. c) 'John has run' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'John has been running'. d) John hört gerade bevor der Satz 'John has been running' gesprochen wird mit dem Laufen auf; bei 'John has run' liegt der Vorgang weiter zurück. e) Bei dem Satz 'John has been running' liegt der Vorgang des Laufens weiter zurück als bei 'John has run'. f) Durch 'John has been running' wird eine längere Dauer des Laufens bezeichnet als durch 'John has run'. g) Durch 'John has been running' wird eine kürzere Dauer des Laufens bezeichnet als durch 'John has run'. h) Der Satz 'John has run' bezeichnet eine sich regelmässig wiederholende Handlung, während 'John has been running' eine einmalige Handlung bezeichnet.	3	36	0	3
		4	32	0	6
		10	27	0	5
		17	21	2	2
		7	29	4	2
		12	26	2	2
		6	32	3	1
		16	20	3	3
2	Vergleiche: 'John has run for 2 hours' und 'John has been running for 2 hours'. a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt: b) 'John has run for 2 hours' ist umgangssprachlicher als 'John has been running for 2 hours'. c) 'John has been running for 2 hours' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'John has run for 2 hours'. d) John hört gerade bevor der Satz 'John has been running for 2 hours' gesprochen wird mit dem Laufen auf; bei 'John has run for 2 hours' liegt der Vorgang weiter zurück. e) Bei dem Satz 'John has been running for 2 hours' liegt der Vorgang des Laufens weiter zurück als bei 'John has run for 2 hours'. f) Der Satz 'John has run for 2 hours' bezeichnet eine sich regelmässig wiederholende Handlung, während 'John has been running for 2 hours' eine einmalige Handlung bezeichnet.	6	34	0	2
		8	28	1	5
		4	33	1	4
		16	22	2	2
		6	32	1	3
		16	22	0	4

Table 31 continued on next page

No	Test sentences: CI - N=42	Yes	No	?	-
3	Vergleiche: 'John has run since noon' und 'John has been running since noon'.				
	a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt:	4	35	2	1
	b) 'John has run since noon' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'John has been running since noon'.	7	31	2	2
	c) 'John has been running since noon' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'John has run since noon'.	3	34	2	3
	d) Durch 'John has been running since noon' wird eine längere Dauer des Laufens bezeichnet als durch 'John has run since noon'.	11	28	1	2
	e) Durch 'John has been running since noon' wird eine kürzere Dauer des Laufens bezeichnet als durch 'John has run since noon'.	6	33	1	2
	f) Durch 'John has been running since noon' wird ausgedrückt, dass 12 Uhr schon länger zurück liegt, während bei 'John has run since noon' 12 Uhr erst kurze Zeit zurückliegt.	9	26	2	5
	g) Durch 'John has been running since noon' wird ausgedrückt, dass 12 Uhr erst kurze Zeit zurückliegt, während bei 'John has run since noon' 12 Uhr schon länger zurückliegt.	13	23	1	5
	h) Der Satz 'John has run since noon' bezeichnet sich eine regelmässig wiederholende Handlung, während 'John has been running since noon' eine einmalige Handlung bezeichnet.	12	24	2	4

Table 31: Perfect tense forms: idiomaticity, duration and recency

We can make the following observations (Table 31):

- i) there is a slight (though consistent) preference for considering the sentences with the simple present perfect tense form the 'more idiomatic' way of encoding the respective states of affairs (cf. items 1c, 2b, 3b),
- ii) the sentences containing the EF of have + en, as opposed to those involving a SF, are understood slightly more often as expressing a more extended duration of the activity (cf. 1f with 1g and 3d with 3e),
- iii) there is a more marked tendency (at least with items 1 and 2) to associate the use of the EF of have + en with the 'recency' of the event (cf. 1d/e, 2d/e, 3g/f). It may, of

course, be that this interpretation is prompted by the use of gerade (= 'recent past') in items 1d and 2d (see § 5.2.1.5, analysis of Table 16, for the influence of these 'signal words'),

- iv) a substantial proportion of the students sees the contrast between the two forms in these contexts in terms of a 'habitual' as opposed to a single event.

Speaking more generally we conclude that the interpretations of sentences containing present perfect tense forms by these learners do not correspond entirely to the ones given by native speakers. Particular emphasis will have to be put, in the pedagogic grammar, on the function of relative adverbials; ie, linguistic indicators assigning a 'continuative' reading to sentences involving forms of have + en. The SF - EF opposition in these contexts is given rather 'idiosyncratic' interpretations by the students. We may also recall that the EF of have + en did not occur once in the learners' written compositions (CC: see § 3.2). Drawing upon the results of the EPs we found our hypothesis confirmed that zero occurrences of a form is not isomorphous with the absence of a learning problem. On the contrary, it seems safe to assert that the particular semantic function of expanded perfect tense forms in activity propositions is not yet available to the learners under investigation.

5.3.2.8 Co-occurrence with time-when adverbials denoting a period of time 'simultaneous' with PR<sub>1</sub>: \_\_\_\_\_

Consider the following 'minimal pair' utterances which are a very typical example of the kind of oscillation between the present perfect and the preterite tense form found in these syntactic contexts in both the students' compositions and the teachers' markings of these utterances:

(5.107) Observation shows me that you were to Wigmore Street Post Office this morning (NS/GE, Holmes).

(5.108) I observe, my dear Watson, that you have been at the Wigmore Street Post Office this morning (NS/GE, Holmes).

Time-when adverbials like today, this week, this month, this summer, this year, which denote a period of time relative to  $PR_1$  that necessarily includes  $PR_1$ , collocate 'almost in free variation' with the present perfect or preterite tense form of event predicates:

(5.109) Dave (has) worked very hard today/this summer.

(5.110) Dave has been/was working very hard today/this summer.

The use of the preterite tense forms implies that the event took place before  $PR_1$  during some 'definitely' located past part of the stretch of time denoted by the adverbial. Thus there is a tendency to select the preterite rather than the present perfect tense form if the speaker 'knows', eg, that a certain person 'goes for a walk' every morning at 10 am. (Bull's 'common focus'):

(5.111) Did you go for your walk today?

And vice versa, the present perfect will be employed if no definite occasion is thought of by the speaker. If the utterance is meant to refer to the ongoingness of an activity throughout the period of time denoted by the adverbial the EF of the present tense is possible:

(5.112) Dave is working very hard today/this summer.

The choice between present perfect and preterite tense forms with units of calendar time relative to  $PR_1$  which are segments of the calendar units mentioned above but which do not necessarily include  $PR_1$  (this morning/this afternoon = 'the morning/afternoon of today', this Sunday = 'the Sunday of this week' etc) depends on whether the

utterance is made while it is still 'morning/Sunday' or not:<sup>1</sup>

(5.113) ( $PR_1$  = 10 am): Have you worked/been working this morning? ( $\supset$  'it is still morning').

(5.114) ( $PR_1$  = 5 pm): Did you work/were you working this morning? ( $\supset$  'morning is over').

If the activity is still in progress at  $PR_1$  (eg 10 am) the EF of the present tense can be selected:

(5.115) Is he working this morning?

Similarly to (5.111), the preterite tense can be used here if  $PR_1$  falls into the period of time denoted by the adverbial but when the utterance refers to an activity which is thought of as occurring during a definite past segment of that period:

(5.116) ( $PR_1$  = 10am) Dave was working this morning when I saw him.

This type of adverbial can also collocate with adverbs of frequency denoting the regular occurrence of an action (twice a week, every Monday, etc) in activity sentences containing an EF, particularly if there is an idea of 'contrast' implied (see § 3.4.2, sentences (1.13) and (1.14)). Notice also that the presence of these relative time-when adverbials assigns the interpretation of a limited duration, as denoted by the respective unit of calendar time, of the regular occurrence of an action to these utterances (see § 5.6.2.1 on the 'habitual' interpretation of utterances):

(5.117) I am playing tennis every day (at 5 pm) this term.

There is no difference in the evaluation and preference scores in the students' reactions to sentences like (5.113) and (5.114) as

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1. These adverbials can actually be employed in utterances referring to past, present or future time, cf: I'll visit him this afternoon.



regards the selection of the preterite or present perfect respectively (Table 32, items 1 c/d and 2 b/d). This suggests that they are not aware of the role the moment of speaking has with utterances of this kind. The expanded present perfect tense form is accepted by fewer students (1e, 2c):

No	Test sentences: E & P - N=51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
			*	+	RI	Σ
1	Es ist jetzt 10.00 Uhr mittags. Paul sagt zu Mary: 'Hast du heute morgen gearbeitet?'					
	a) Have you been working today morning?	*	46	5	2	175
	b) Have you this morning worked?	*	47	4	7	173
	c) Have you worked this morning?	+	21	30	19	124
	d) Did you work this morning?	+	21	30	20	119
	e) Have you been working this morning?	+	31	20	7	157
2	Es ist 17.00 Uhr nachmittags. Paul zu Mary: 'Hast du heute morgen gearbeitet?'					
	a) Were you working this morning?	+	45	6	3	173
	b) Have you worked this morning?	*	19	32	21	106
	c) Have you been working this morning?	+	29	22	7	151
	d) Did you working this morning?	+	21	30	18	109
	e) Do you working this morning?	*	48	3	1	189

Table 32: Relative time-when adverbials & Perfect/Preterite

### 5.3.3 Collocation with durational adverbials and quantifiers

#### 5.3.3.1 i) quantification of the direct object NP of count nouns

(5.118) Jimmy chased/was chasing { an elephant  
the elephant  
the elephants  
elephants  
some/all (of)  
the elephants  
(these) 3 elephants  
each/every elephant  
dozens of/several  
elephants } for days.

#### ii) quantification of the subject NP of count nouns

(5.119) { A/the tourist  
(The) tourists  
Dave, Jimmy and  
Peter  
(These) 3 tourists  
Every/each tourist  
Dozens of/several  
tourists } drank/were drinking all night.

iii) quantification of the direct object NP of mass nouns

(5.120) Dave stole/was stealing sugar for months.

(5.121)\* Dave stole/was stealing a/the/each lump of sugar for months.

(5.122)\* Dave stole/was stealing the (10) lumps of sugar for months.<sup>1</sup>

(5.123) Dave stole/was stealing lumps of sugar for months.

iv) quantification of the subject NP of mass nouns

(5.124) The clergy drank/were drinking all night.

Or to take non-agentive occurrence propositions:

(5.125)	{ South African gold	} poured/were pouring on to the stock-market for weeks.
(5.126)*	{ A/the/each ton of gold	
(5.127)*	{ (The) 10 tons of gold <sup>1</sup>	
(5.128)	{ Tons of gold	

With durative activity predicates we observe just one 'irregularity' in that they cannot co-occur with durational adverbials (in the single-event reading) if there is expressed a specified quantity of the substance denoted by a mass noun (see § 4.4.4 for Verkuyl's schemes of the aspects, 1972:106). These sentences, contrary to all the others, do not have the properties of activity propositions any more but those of accomplishment propositions:

(5.129) Dave stole the (10) lumps of sugar in two minutes.

It took Dave two minutes to steal the (10) lumps of sugar.

(5.130) (The) 10 tons of gold poured on to the stockmarket in two hours.

All the other sentences of (5.118) - (5.128) can be interpreted as

---

1. These sentences are to be interpreted in the single-event reading, ie, not iteratively.

naming 'unbounded' single events going on in a 'homogeneous' way throughout the period of time denoted by the adverbial (= activity propositions). Either SF or EF is acceptable. The scope of the durational adverbial ranges over the whole unbounded situation. This is not the case with a bounded situation like Dave stole 10 lumps of sugar which has an idea of 'terminus' or 'goal' associated with it. The notion of 'specified quantity' of the substance denoted by a mass noun can be extended from the more concrete cases like a slice of, a glass of, a pint of, etc. to more abstract 'entities' involving a spatial, temporal or material 'limit'. Thus we cannot accept (in its single-event reading):

- (5.131)\* <sup>1</sup><sub>(s)</sub> Gilels played Beethoven's Pathetique for hours  
(≠ iterative).

since a piano sonata is in itself a 'specified quantity of music' (cf. Verkuyl 1972: 54-58). If at least one of the nominal categories denotes 'unspecified quantities' these sentences can again be read as naming activity situations, eg:

- (5.132) Gilels played parts of Beethoven's piano concerto  
for hours.  
(5.133) Gilels played piano sonatas for hours.

Similarly to (5.131) we do not have, in the single-event reading, together with durational adverbials 'bounded' complements like a mile, a song, a book, an apple, even with activity predicates like eat or sing denoting seemingly non-directional actions:

- (5.134)\* <sub>(s)</sub> Moira walked a/the mile for hours.

---

1. This convention - \*<sub>(s)</sub> - is meant to indicate that these sentences are not acceptable <sub>(s)</sub> in their single-event reading. They are accepted, however, in their iterative interpretation.

(5.135)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Moira sang Scots wha hae for hours.

(5.136)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Moira ate the apple for hours.

Also with directional prepositional phrases (PP) of the form from - to, as far as, etc. (where the initial location need not be spelled out overtly):

(5.137)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Moira ran from the Castle to Holyrood Palace for hours.

(5.138)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Moira ran to the Castle for hours (cf. Verkuyl 1972:20).

If there is a definite limit to the 'quantity' of the 'entity' denoted by a mass noun constituting at least one of the nominal categories (cf. Verkuyl's notion of 'mapping abstract linearly structured objects into the time-axis', 1972:57) involved in the basic proposition (which then stands for an accomplishment situation), the latter cannot be modified by durational adverbials in a non-iterative sense. Situations/ propositions which are bounded in this way cannot be qualified by adverbials such as a bit longer/further :

(5.139)\* Moira walked the mile a bit further.

Cf, however, activity propositions like (cf. Verkuyl 1972:90-93):

(5.140) Moira walked on a bit/a bit further.

(5.141) Jimmy chased the elephant a bit longer.

That the basic propositions of (5.134) - (5.138) are in fact accomplishment situations is borne out by the fact that they pass the tests for accomplishments:

(5.142) It took Moira an hour to walk a mile/to walk to the Castle/to eat an apple.

(5.143) Moira stopped/finished walking a mile/to walk to the Castle/eating an apple.

Sentences containing at least one indefinite plural NP or a mass noun as nominal categories have again the properties of activity propositions: see (5.120), (5.123).

(5.144) Dave spent an hour stealing (lumps of) sugar.

(5.145) Moira spent an hour eating apples.

5.3.3.2 Thus we obtain the following perfectly regular paradigm for activity propositions containing preterite and present perfect tense forms:

i) intransitive activity sentences (5.146):

Bob smiled. - Bob was smiling when ...

Bob smiled for 2 minutes. - Bob was smiling for 2 minutes.

? Bob has smiled.<sup>1</sup> - Bob has been smiling.

Bob has smiled for 2 minutes. - Bob has been smiling for 2 minutes.

ii) transitive activity sentences (5.147):

Bob chased an elephant for days. - Bob was chasing an elephant for days.

? Bob has chased an elephant.<sup>1</sup> - Bob has been chasing an elephant.

Bob has chased an elephant for days. - Bob has been chasing an elephant for days.

iii) object NP = indefinite plural (5.148):

Bob read limericks all day. - Bob was reading limericks all day.

? Bob has read limericks.<sup>1</sup> - Bob has been reading limericks.

Bob has read limericks all day. - Bob has been reading limericks all day.

iv) subject NP = indefinite plural (5.149):

Soldiers marched from the Castle to Holyrood Palace for hours.

? Soldiers have marched from C. to H.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. See § 5.3.2.5, sentences (4.92) and (4.93), on the 'oddness' of these utterances in isolation; cf. also Leech 1971:45.



Soldiers have marched from C. to H. for hours.

Soldiers were marching from C. to H. for hours.

Soldiers have been marching from C. to H.

Soldiers have been marching from C. to H. for hours.

Activity sentences containing simple or expanded present perfect tense forms are 'more or less' in free variation if they co-occur with durational adverbials, since the situations they denote are 'homogeneous' and 'unbounded' anyway. The adverbial only specifies the period of time throughout which this situation is taking place. The selection of the EF only underlines the ongoingness of the process:

(5.150) Bob has chased/been chasing an elephant for days.

(5.151) Peter has looked/been looking after the family's  
sweetshop for years.

The only significant circumstances that may 'encourage' a speaker to use the EF rather than the SF of the simple present tense is where the speaker can still notice the 'present effects' of an activity, even when it had actually ceased before the moment of speaking:

(5.152) Speaker detects the following state of affairs with  
Mary: 'Mary has marked black rings under her eyes'.  
- He infers: You have been working again all night,  
haven't you?

(5.153) Speaker detects: 'Little Jimmy's trousers are torn'.  
- He infers: You have been playing football again  
(all afternoon).

However, these are instances of pragmatic inference: there is nothing in the function of the expanded present perfect tense form (in terms of its contrast to the SF of this tense which, as we have seen, is

often wrongly characterized as denoting 'completion' = 'resultative perfect') that makes its selection a necessity here. The EF of this tense does not, by itself, denote 'continuation up to PR' which would demand its selection in a situation where the 'effects of a past activity' are still felt to be present at PR (see §§5.3.6.2 and 5.4.2.4 on the notions of 'obviousness' and 'current relevance'). Rather, in observing a certain 'extraordinary' state of affairs, the speaker chooses to 'emphasize' the ongoingness of a past activity, which he assumes, via pragmatic inference, to be the 'source' for the presently observed situation.

It is the whole sentence which has the semantic properties of an activity or an accomplishment proposition. This gives an explanation to Hatcher's (1951) 'puzzlement' that the 'same verb' can or cannot occur with the simple present perfect tense form in different contexts:

(5.154) ? She has cried.

(5.155) ? She has played cards.

(5.156) ? She has fooled with my papers.

Underlying all these utterances are activity propositions: 'X spent an hour V-ing' vs '\* It took X an hour to V'. Perfectly acceptable, even out of a specific context, are:

(5.157) She has cried her heart out.

(5.158) She has played a card.

(5.159) She has fooled me.

These last sentences denote accomplishment propositions (see § 5.4.1 on the 'verb-locative particle' construction); utterances (5.157) - (5.159) occur in either test frame: 'It took X 15 minutes to ...' and 'X spent 15 minutes ...'. This shows again the inappropriateness of classifying (most) verbs or even predicates as 'telic' or 'atelic',

'perfective' or 'imperfective', 'conclusive' or 'non-conclusive' or whatever other semantic label one may wish to choose.

5.3.3.3 It was pointed out in § 5.2.1.2 that some bordercrossing predicates, eg, find, can take on an 'associated' accomplishment reading given the appropriate context; ie, the sentences in which these predicates occur then have the properties of an accomplishment proposition. The same can be observed with activity predicates, although we must admit that instances of this kind of re-interpretation of certain utterances containing activity predicates are rather far-fetched, ie, contextually very restricted. Thus Dowty (1972:28f) mentions that we can say:

(5.160) He finished looking for a certain book but never found it.

if there is an established search procedure for books in a library. Clearly, a sentence like John looked for a book denotes an activity situation. However, if we consider this 'established search procedure' a linearly structured 'entity' that can be mapped into the time-axis (ie, one which has a temporal limit or constitutes a 'specified quantity' of 'looking for s.th.'), we understand why (5.160) can in fact denote an accomplishment situation. Hence the possible complementation with finish and the compatibility with the other test frames suggested in 5.1

(5.161)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{It took John an hour to look for the book} \\ \text{John spent an hour looking for the book} \end{array} \right\}$  according

to the search procedure laid down by the head librarian.

#### 5.3.4 On the predication of variable and non-variable properties

5.3.4.1 'Unrestricted states': Certain utterances containing activity predicates are interpreted as referring to 'unrestricted states' (as opposed to the 'habitual' interpretation of utterances: see § 5.6.2.1):

- (5.162) Jerry Lee Lewis sings rock'n'roll (= 'J.L.L. is a rock'n'roll singer').
- (5.163) André Nicolet plays the flute superbly (= 'A.N. is a superb flute player').
- (5.164) Dave works on a farm (= 'Dave is a farm-worker').
- (5.165) William Burke snatched bodies (= 'W.B. was a body-snatcher').
- (5.166) Billie Holliday sang blues (= B.H. was a blues-singer').

This interpretation depends on the character of the predicate (unbounded), the presence of the SF and the absence of certain quantifiers (contrary to utterances understood as 'habitual') and durational adverbials. The same kind of paraphrase relationship does not (necessarily) hold with utterances in which the SF is substituted by the EF. Thus I am working on a farm does not necessarily entail I am a farm-worker. Thus the EF is inappropriate in the following utterance referring to an unrestricted state:

- (5.167) I believe that's right. The woman should educate children. \* If both parents are working ( $\Rightarrow$  work) the children must live ( $\Rightarrow$  stay) in a kindergarten (DS/FE, Woman).

Cf. however:

- (5.168) For the last 50 years all human beings have thought that the mother of a family has to stand in the kitchen. The father works, the mother cooks. Today it is a little bit another ( $\Rightarrow$  different) (DS/FE, Woman).

Notice also the incompatibility of (5.162) - (5.166) with time-when adverbials:

- (5.169)\* Maria Callas is a singer at midnight/this winter.

Utterances read as referring to 'unrestricted states' are a type of

'universal proposition'; ie, the time for which the situation denoted by these sentences is true has a 'universal quantifier'. The referent of the grammatical subject has to be dead in utterances of this kind if the simple preterite tense form is employed. If the person referred to is still alive the use of this form refers to a situation of 'limited duration'. A durational adverbial is either present or understood from the context:

(5.170) I spoke Russian in those days.

(5.171) Pat Boone sang rock'n'roll {for the first 10 years of his  
in the fifties. career.}

Now he sings gospels.

These utterances are not instances of an 'unrestricted state'.

Utterances referring to occupations, dispositions and abilities are usually understood as referring to state situations. In taking up an observation made by Ryle (1949), Vendler points out (1967:108f) that the latter 'categories' are still fairly "uniform" or "specific states". Hence we can use the corresponding predicates with a durational adverbial in an activity proposition:

(5.172) Jerry Lee Lewis was singing rock'n'roll all night.

(5.173) Suzan was cheating throughout the final exams

(cf. 'Suzan is a cheater').

This is hardly possible with 'heterogeneous' state situations such as those named by X is a ruler/educator/servant (Vendler). Thus we have:

(5.174) Idi Amin rules Uganda (= 'I.A. is the ruler of Uganda').

(5.175) After some time a battleship took the cable and started the tour over the Atlantic. At this time Queen Victoria {ruled  
was ruling} in England (NS/R, Cable).

But neither Idi Amin nor we could say:



(5.176)\* I was ruling Uganda this morning.

(5.177)\* Idi Amin does a lot of ruling.

(5.178)\*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I am being} \\ \text{Idi Amin is being} \end{array} \right\}$  the ruler of Uganda today.

The unacceptability of these utterances is due to the incompatibility of the state situation denoted by rule (which again involves some kind of 'universal proposition' and

- i) the idea of 'limited duration' associated with an adverbial like this morning, which denotes a very definite sub-stretch of time (= unit of calendar time) on the 'universal time-scale',
- ii) the expression 'do a lot of Ving' which serves as a test frame for utterances which are interpreted 'habitually' (see § 5.6.2.1),
- iii) the interpretation of utterances containing 'non-stative adjectives/nominals' as referring to an activity situation (see § 5.3.4.4).

G often employs different lexical realizations or copula sentences (= encoding of 'class membership') to express the semantic differences implicit in the contrast between activity and state situations/propositions (occupations, dispositions, abilities), where E can draw upon the semantic implications of the EF - SF opposition. By selecting the SF (of an activity predicate) the speaker can then predicate a non-variable property on the referent of the subject NP (= interpretation of an 'unrestricted state'), whereas the selection of the EF (of the 'same' E predicate) denotes the ongoingness of the process (= predication of a 'variable property', interpretation as an activity situation):

(5.179) He wears glasses. - Er ist Brillenträger/er trägt eine Brille.

(5.180) He is wearing his glasses today. - Er hat heute seine Brille auf.

- (5.181) He writes novels. - Er ist Romanschriftsteller.
- (5.182) He is writing a letter - Er schreibt gerade einen Brief.
- (5.183) David teaches physics. - David ist Physiklehrer.
- (5.184) David is teaching physics in a Borstal now.  
David unterrichtet jetzt Physik in einem Jugendhof.
- (5.185) Who is going to drive then? You Hugo - do you drive?  
... Kannst du Auto fahren?
- (5.186) Who is going to drive then? You Hugo - are you driving?  
... Fährst du, Hugo?
- (5.187) Do you take this hot sauce? - Magst du diese scharfe Sauce?
- (5.188) Are you taking this hot sauce?  
Nimmst du dir von dieser scharfen Sauce?

Between a quarter and a third of the group of students asked to choose between the two forms select the EF for utterances referring to 'unrestricted states' (Table 33). Notice also that the objection scores to the EF are not as high as one may 'wish' them to be. The identification of the 'unrestricted state' interpretation of certain utterances ought to be part of a future pedagogic grammar for this area (see § 6.3):

No	Test sentence: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select Object			
1	The kitchen is the working place of the wife. Some men ___ in the kitchen when it is their hobby.	cook	20	9		
		are cooking	22	21		
2	I would buy neither a car nor a motor cycle. In a town like Berlin I ___ nearly as fast on a bike as with a car.	am going	14	19		
		go	28	11½		
3	For the last 50 years all human beings have thought that the mother of a family has to stand in the kitchen. The father ___, the mother ___. Today it is a little bit different.	works	30	8		
		is working	12	16		
		is cooking	10	16		
	Elvis Presley ___ rock'n'roll.	cooks	32	8		
4		sings	31	3		
		is singing	11	13		
	Test sentence: CI - N=42		Yes	No	?	-
5	Elvis Presley sings rock'n'roll.					
	a) Er ist gerade in diesem Augenblick zu hören (z.B. im Radio).		8	31	2	1
	b) Dieser Satz bezeichnet die Tatsache, dass dies sein Beruf ist, oder dass dies sein Stil ist. Er muss nicht gerade singen.		34	7	0	1

Table 33: Unrestricted states

5.3.4.2 Essence vs. accident: The presupposition associated with the use of the EF, namely that it is a variable property that is being predicated of a given subject argument, also rules out the substitutability of the SF by the EF in "process-oriented sentences" (Halliday) when a non-variable property is to be expressed:

(5.189) This shirt washes easily.

(5.190) These cottages let well.

In Halliday's words (1967:47): "Underlying all these is a feature of characterization of the process as such, either a qualification of it or a generalization about its feasibility". The presupposition of 'variability' would also seem to be implicit in the essence-accidence distinction drawn by many linguists: eg, Bolinger (1971, 1972), Dowty (1972).<sup>1</sup>

(5.191) I hope you didn't put that curry powder into the rice.

{ It burns like fire.  
? It is burning like fire.  
? It is all hot. }

(5.192) Don't wear that sweater. { It scratches.  
? It is scratching.  
? It is all itchy. }

Matters of presupposition also pose a problem with other co-occurrences of manner adverbials with the EF or SF respectively. This has often been described in traditional grammars as the 'descriptive' function of the EF. We will take just one example from Hatcher (1951:278). If a speaker observes a 'strange woman waddling along' he will probably infer a characteristic feature of her behaviour and say (= 'essence', or 'property defining predication on the referent of the subject NP'):

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1. Bolinger (1972) discusses the use of ser and estar in Spanish and suggests all before an adjective as a test for the E equivalent of estar.

- (5.193) Look at that woman: doesn't she walk funny?  
Guck mal die Frau da drüben: läuft die nicht  
komisch?

If, however, the same speaker meets an old, well-known friend of his who normally does not exhibit this kind of locomotion (= 'accidence', or: 'variable property') he will probably utter:

- (5.194) What's the matter with you? You are walking (mighty/  
all) funny!  
Was ist denn mit dir los? Du läufst  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aber} \\ \text{ja (vielleicht)} \end{array} \right\}$   
komisch!

Notice the presence of 'modal particles' (Abtönungspartikel: aber, ja) in the G translation of the E utterance containing the EF. The particle aber usually implies a contrast, eg, that somebody does something which he normally does not do or ought better not do. The particle ja lends itself to utterances in which the speaker draws the listener's attention to the 'fact' that a certain situation exists.<sup>1</sup> This suggests that the illocutionary force of the two utterances (containing SF or EF respectively) is different.

The students' uncertainty with respect to the appropriate use of the two forms in these two contexts increases with the predication of a non-variable property. The figures suggest again a 'random choice' (Table 34):

- 
1. It then often suggests that a participant is somehow 'entitled' to do something, or that a certain activity is no undue burden for somebody else:  
(5.195) After all, they are sitting in a Humber Super Snipe, they can afford to relax (H:13)  
Schliesslich sitzen sie ja in einem Humber Super Snipe.  
(5.196) Can I give you a lift? I'm going your way (HM:138)  
Ich fahre ja in Ihrer Richtung.

No	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select Object
1	Sie treffen einen alten Bekannten auf der Strasse und sehen, dass er humpelt. Sie sagen: 'Was ist denn mit dir los? Du läufst ja vielleicht komisch'. - What's the matter with you? You ___ funny.	walk are walking	14      22½ 28      11½
2	Sie sehen auf der Strasse eine Ihnen völlig unbekannte Frau, die humpelt. Sie sagen zu Ihrem Freund, der bei Ihnen ist: 'Sieh mal die alte Frau. Läuft die nicht komisch?' - Look at that old woman over there. ___?	doesn't she walk funny isn't she walking funny	22      13½ 20      16

Table 34: Essence and accident

Compare also the following utterance (a supervisor's comment to his student):

(5.197) You wrote this paragraph in a way as if you weren't sure of your hypothesis (= 'I state: You don't seem to be too sure of your hypothesis').

with a purely 'descriptive' comment like:

(5.198) Yesterday I saw you in the library. You were scribbling away as if you had ten supervisors behind you chasing you (≠ 'I state: You had ten supervisors behind you chasing you', but 'You were writing away in a concentrated/desperate fashion').

The as if - clause functions here almost like a manner adverbial. Hence the 'descriptive' effect noted by some traditional grammarians (esp. Sweet 1898, Poutsma 1926, etc; see § 4.1.1). This effect is due to the interpretation of contextually determined utterances; it can not, however, be attributed to the EF itself as was done by these grammarians. It can also be observed in utterances containing an as if/as though - clause in which the predicate is 'subjunctive':

(5.199) 'It's a wonderful excuse', she said. 'It doesn't stop you sleeping with me - it only stops you marrying



me'. - 'Yes', he said heavily as though he were accepting a penance (HM:171).

... als ob er eine Strafe annehme.

The utterance does not suggest that Scobie actually accepts a penance, it is not a statement of 'fact' about someone's action. Rather the whole clause introduced by as though functions as a qualitative modification upon Scobie's 'state of mind', again almost like a manner adverbial: 'in a way one generally accepts a penance'. This usage is very frequent with as if/as though - clauses containing the EF of an activity or accomplishment predicate.

5.3.4.3 Bolinger's zeugma: Our characterization of the use of the EF as presupposing a variable property on the referent of an argument becomes particularly clear in the cases pointed out by Bolinger (1971:248), where "a combination of essence and accident results in zeugma:

\* He is clever and waiting.

\* He is irascible and practically foaming at the mouth."

If only 'accidental' properties are predicated the EF is compatible with conjoined adverbials or adjectives. Cf. Anderson's (1973) localistic account of the EF in terms of 'be in a state of Ving':

(5.200) Father Clay was up and waiting (HM:81).

(5.201) Mac is back in town and looking for trouble.

(5.202) 8 soldiers were killed this morning. They were on night manoeuvres and crossing a tunnel when they were hit by a train (BBC).

(5.203) Jim is furious/angry and virtually foaming with rage.

(5.204) Jim is pale as the wall and shivering with anger/impatience.

- (5.205) Irene, the 1919 musical, is alive and well in 1974 and playing on Broadway (BBC).

Activity predicates in the EF can sometimes be substituted by 'action nominals' with the preposition at: He is at work/study/prayer (see § 5.3.2.2, (5.28)). Cf. also the locative structures be on the march, be on fire/in Flammen stehen, and the various locative periphrastic forms in G mentioned in § 5.3.2.2 (5.24) - (5.27). Expanded activity and accomplishment forms can be pronominalized by at it:

- (5.206) He was working on that topic last week, and he is probably still at it.

- (5.207) I am writing up some articles. And what are you at now that you have finished your thesis?

If the EF is to be clefted a preposition has to be inserted (Bolinger 1971):

- (5.208) %<sup>1</sup> Is it working he is at or playing the guitar?

- (5.209) \* Is it working he is or playing the guitar?

5.3.4.4 'Non-stative adjectives and nominals': The pronominal at it - reduction is also possible with activity propositions containing the so-called 'non-stative adjectives/nominals':

- (5.210) 'I hear Walter was being cruel to his wife yesterday'.  
- 'Not only yesterday: his is always at it'.

The referent of the subject NP in these adjectival and nominal copula sentences is understood as an agent:

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1. This symbol (%) is meant to indicate dialect variation between native speakers as regards the acceptability of an utterance. (5.208) is not usually considered 'standard E', although it is probably common in certain dialects.

(5.211) I could never make up my mind whether you were supporting the police or whether you were being critical of the police (BBC).

(5.212) I can act as anybody here. I am being Romeo today (BBC).  
Thus all sentences with inanimate subjects are excluded from this kind of expansion of the predicate (disregarding here metaphorical usages as in The car is being difficult this morning, cf. Leech 1971:25):

(5.213) \* The kettle is being hot.

(5.214) \* The climate is being horrible.

There are, however, restrictions operating on animate subjects as well:

(5.215) \* Mary is being tall/fat/blonde/American/pregnant.

(5.216) \* I am being in Edinburgh.

All the situations denoted by these sentences, provided they contain non-expanded predicates, are in a sense 'temporary': Mary is tall only from a certain age onwards, and she need not always be fat; 'pregnancy' is a state of 'limited duration' for purely biological reasons, and being in A is up to the individual to 'decide'. Thus 'temporariness' or 'limited duration' cannot be the crucial (or sole) semantic factor involved here. The referents of the subjects are not agents, thus the sentences do not denote (agentive) activity situations in the sense given by Dowty (see § 4.5.1). According to Dowty's meaning postulate for DO (see (2.17)) an agentive activity situation is characterized by the agent's actual capacity to realize his volition or intention. Being pregnant, being tall, etc. but even being fat and being in Edinburgh (see also § 5.5.3.3) are situations that cannot simply be 'willed or manipulated away' by the subject, whereas Jim is being foolish or Jim is being a nuisance denote

(activity) situations that are subject to the intentional control of the agent. Notice the following syntactic arguments (especially the compatibility with the tests of 'intentionality': deliberately, on purpose etc) for the interpretation of these sentences containing an expanded copula as denoting agentive, ie, non-stative, propositions/situations:

(5.217) I persuaded/ordered Jimmy to be good to his sister.

(5.218) Come on, Jimmy, be good now!

(5.219) Just one more thing, Jimmy: do be good to Mary!

(5.220) Yes, Harry is being polite these days, but only  
in order to impress his new girl-friend.

Thus both 'features', agentivity and temporariness/variability of the predicated property, have to be present in order to allow the EF in copula sentences of this kind. Copula sentences containing a SF are normally understood as denoting a 'more permanent/less variable' property of the subject's character or personality, although they are, strictly speaking, ambiguous between the activity and the state interpretation:

(5.221) Moira is polite/a real bitch.

Notice, finally, that G renders sentences with non-stative adjectives by means of verbs like sich verhalten/benehmen. If these utterances have an evaluative force 'Abtönungspartikel' are used:

(5.222) 'You are being pompous, Enoch' (BBC).

Du bist mal wieder pompös, Enoch.

Du bist ja/aber ganz schön pompös, Enoch.

(5.223) Don't talk darling. I'm being good. Can't you see  
I'm being good? I'm really being quite good. (HM:242f).  
Ich bin schon brav. Merkst du nicht, wie brav ich  
bin? Ich bin ja schon ganz brav.

The 'modal particle' schon in (5.223) suggests that the subject is behaving differently from what the speaker/listener 'expected'. This is in line with the original temporal denotation of the adverb which normally assigns the reading to an utterance that the situation 'came about' earlier than the speaker wanted or expected it to happen.<sup>1</sup>

The students' reactions to sentences containing the EF of be are summarized in Table 35:

No	Test sentences: FCS - N=42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	The water __ now.	is hot	27	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		is being hot	15	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	John is being __ now.	a fool	8	27 $\frac{1}{2}$
		in London	34	8
3	John is __ now.	being tall	20	14
		being polite	22	13
Test sentences: E & P - N=51		Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI $\Sigma$
4	Du bist ja ganz schön albern.			
	a) You are silly.	*	39 12	4 148
	b) You are being silly.	+	43 8	2 165
	c) You are rather silly.	+	9 42	37 80
	d) You are always very silly.	*	38 13	4 152
5	Du bist mal wieder albern.			
	a) You are very silly.	*	38 13	4 172
	b) You are silly.	*	41 10	0 158
	c) You are always silly.	*	48 3	2 166
	d) You are being silly.	+	42 9	3 185
	e) You are silly this time again.	*	9 42	29 65

Table 35 continued on next page

- The notion of an event happening 'earlier-than-expected' together with the speaker's evaluation of this situation is clearly spelled out in the G translation of the E utterance:  
(5.224) 'You are learning', Scobie said. 'A week ago you were so frightened of him' (HM:151).  
'Ich sehe, Sie lernen es schon', sagte Scobie aner kennend.  
In spoken E the evaluative force of the utterance is realized phonologically: // You <sup>(s)</sup>are learning //



No	Test sentences: CI - N=42	Yes	No	?	-
6	Mary is being fat now, The water is being hot now. a) Diese Sätze sind akzeptabel, da sie einen vorübergehenden Zustand bezeichnen. D.h. Mary war vorher nicht dick, das Wasser war vorher nicht heiss; sie/es ist nur jetzt ('im Augenblick') dick/heiss. b) Diese Sätze sind nicht akzeptabel, da sie einen Zustand, eine Eigenschaft, bezeichnen. Die <u>ing</u> -Form kann nur benutzt werden, wenn der Verlauf einer Tätigkeit ausgedrückt wird.	15	26	1	0
7	John is being polite. a) Dieser Satz ist akzeptabel, da er einen vorübergehenden 'Zustand' bezeichnet; d.h. John war vorher nicht höflich, er benimmt sich aber jetzt, im Augenblick, höflich. b) Dieser Satz ist nicht akzeptabel, da er einen Zustand, eine Eigenschaft bezeichnet. Die <u>ing</u> -Form kann nur benutzt werden, wenn der Verlauf einer Tätigkeit ausgedrückt wird.	19	21	1	1
		22	17	0	3

Table 35: Non-stative adjectives/nominals

The following picture evolves:

- i) about a third of the group accept utterances with the expanded copula be and inanimate subjects (see items 1 and 6a), the 'explanation' for this apparently being (cf. 6a) that a state of 'limited duration' is referred to,
- ii) the overwhelming majority of students reject a sentence with a non-stative nominal in favour of an unacceptable locative sentence with the EF of be (see item 2),
- iii) the selection and objection scores to item 3, which involves properties which either are or are not under the control of the subject referent, suggest 'random choice'. This is underlined by the similar distribution with item 7 (50 : 50). Notice also that the constructions involving non-stative adjectives are not accepted as translation equivalents of the G sentences by the vast majority of students (see items 4b and 5d). They have

the lowest preference scores of all the alternatives.

We conclude that sentences involving non-stative adjectives/nominals are not yet part of the receptive competence of most of these learners (no instance of such a construction is found in the students' CC).

### 5.3.5 Performative utterances

5.3.5.1 Performative utterances, ie, where the illocutionary force of the sentence is the act named, do not allow the predicate to be in the EF (this is not to say that these predicates can never occur in the EF: see below):

(5.225)\* I am pronouncing you man and wife (but: I pronounce you ...).

(5.226)\* I am declaring the exhibition opened (but: I declare ...).

(5.227)\* We are finding you guilty of ... (but: We find you ...).

(5.228)\* I am swearing to obey the constitution (but: I swear ...).

This was noticed before Austin (1962:5f, 64) by Koschmieder (1935, in: 1965:26ff: 'Koinzidenzfall'), Benveniste (in: 1971:229), Hatcher (1951:267); cf. also Joos (1964:111) and Allen (1966:222) who speak of 'asseverations'. Similar 'acts of social import' where the utterance is the 'act' itself (the 'doing'), ie, which are not descriptions or reports of the act denoted by the sentence, are: I deny, I promise, I guarantee, I bet, I beg your pardon, I refuse, I object, I confess, I proclaim, I proscribe, I order you, I baptize thee, I name this ship, I apologise, but also (in a card game) I pass, I double, I bid, etc. Notice the presence of the first person singular, the (simple) present tense form, and the possibility of adding hiermit in G (or hereby in E) instead of adverbs like gerade/now etc, which are used for reports and

descriptions.<sup>1</sup> Since the 'act' is identical with the utterance, the linguistic encoding, where the latter refers to a bounded situation which is not conceptualized as an ongoing action or an activity observable as being 'in progress', the EF cannot be selected in 'performative utterances' (= 'complete speech acts', 'to utter is to do the act'), as utterances with an expanded predicate are not instances of illocutionary force markers (cf. Austin 1962:99ff on the notion of 'illocutionary force').

At least 40 per cent of the students select the EF rather than the SF in performative utterances, which is probably due to the overgeneralization of the use of the EF in sentences denoting 'actual present'. We will suggest in § 6.3 that the incorporation of the notion of a 'bounded event' into the pedagogic grammar may be of help here:

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object	
1	Trauungszeremonie: 'I __ you man and wife'.	am pronouncing pronounce declare am declaring	15 27 23 19	16½ 11½ 11 20½
2	Ausstellungseröffnung: 'I __ the exhibition opened'.			

Table 36: Performative utterances

5.3.5.2 If the predicates listed above, which are all related to saying or communication in a wider sense, do occur in the EF the 'illocutionary force' of the utterance has changed:

(5.231) 'Why don't you shut up, you daft prat?' - 'Don't

- 
1. Notice the comparable formulas in written invitations and business letters where the utterances are, once again, not a report about the nature of someone's actions:  
 (5.229) Miss Sandy Stranger requests the pleasure of Mr Alan Beck's company at dinner on Tuesday the 6th January at 8 o'clock (JB:37).  
 (5.230) I enclose a cheque ...

you talk to me like that. I'm warning you' (H:7).

Frequently the predicates in these utterances are accompanied by adverbials implying previous repetition of the 'perlocutionary act' (cf. Austin 1962:101ff):

(5.232) I am telling you for the last time. Do not ...

By means of utterances having a perlocutionary force the speaker attempts to achieve a certain effect on the feelings, thoughts or actions of his listener, such as frightening, persuading, amusing, annoying etc. Whereas the 'success' of a performative utterance depends entirely on the 'happiness' conditions (social role of the speaker, sincerity, and subsequent commitment to the act), utterances serving as perlocutionary acts have an element of 'reduced commitment' associated with them: see (5.231) and (5.232). The reading of certain utterances containing an EF as expressing 'reduced commitment' on the part of the speaker (see also § 5.5.8)<sup>1</sup> is also noted by Hatcher (1951:272) and Leech (1971:24), and was referred to by some traditional grammarians as another instance of the 'evaluative force' of the EF. However, this latter idea is not part of the function or denotation of this form,<sup>2</sup> but is attributable to the interpretation of contextually determined utterances (ie, a pragmatic matter). The selection of the EF in these contexts can be explained

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1. 'Tentativeness' and 'politeness' are also felt with the following utterances, containing an expanded preterite tense form of 'verbs of saying', which are used by the speaker as 'discourse starters', ie, the speaker is after some specific information (see also § 5.3.2.4, footnote p. 204):  
(5.233) 'You were saying something about a rumour?' Wilson asked (HM:68)  
'Sie sagten vorhin etwas von einem Gerücht', erkundigte sich Wilson.  
(5.234) 'Cooper was telling me about the library' Wilson said, 'and I thought perhaps...' - 'Do you like reading?' Louise asked (HM:30)
  2. Cf. again Weinrich (1971:131) for a misleading characterization of the function of the EF: "Die Tempora auf - ing sind weniger verpflichtend und weniger fordernd als die 'einfachen Tempora'".

purely in terms of its basic function as denoting the ongoingness of a process. Utterances containing the EFs of these predicates (related to communication) are reports by a speaker to his listener about the nature of his action; they are conceptualized by the speaker as being in progress at a particular PR:

(5.235) I am pronouncing you man and wife.

(5.236) I am protesting (uttered by someone who has chained himself to park railings: cf. Austin 1962:64).

### 5.3.6 Non-agentive occurrence propositions

5.3.6.1 There is a class of propositions denoting dynamic processes which fail Lee's (1969) A-tests but pass the P-tests (see § 5.1.7):

(5.237)\* I persuaded my stomach to rumble.

(5.238)\* Rumble, stomach!

(5.239) My stomach is rumbling.

(5.240) What my stomach did was rumble.

This follows from our characterization of these processes as non-agentive (or: non-intentional) occurrence situations: see § 4.5.5, Fig. 2. Amongst these we can distinguish:

- i) 'physiological processes' involving such predicates as: digest, rumble, chatter, tremble, etc. They are frequently of an 'oscillating' nature (= processes of variable intensity); cf. also predicates like shake, flutter, pump, swarm, thump, etc.
- ii) 'ambient' occurrences involving such predicates as: snow, rain,
- iii) other occurrences involving various inanimate participants as subjects and durative or momentary predicates.

Thus we have Objective case elements functioning as the grammatical subject:



(5.241) The house is burning. - Das Haus brennt/steht in Flammen.

(5.242) The kettle is boiling - I'll make some tea (CSB:62) -  
Das Wasser kocht.

(5.243) The club is not functioning (HM:29) - Der Klub ist  
nicht in Betrieb (locative construction!)

Locative case elements are also frequently subjectivized in E:

(5.244) The place is swarming with policemen (CSB:28). -  
Der Platz ist voll von Polizisten.

Usually the Locative case element (just like an Instrumental or  
Source case) is rendered by a prepositional phrase in G:

(5.245) He saw that his hand was dripping with blood (HM:38).  
Er bemerkte, dass Blut von seiner Hand tropfte.

5.3.6.2 'Ambient' events: Sentences like It is raining/snowing  
denote, according to Chafe (1970:102) "an all-encompassing event  
which is without reference to some particular 'thing' within the  
environment". This claim has been challenged by Bolinger (1973:  
261f) on the basis of syntactic evidence in E, thereby denying Chafe's  
position that it "need not reflect anything at all in the semantic  
structure"<sup>1</sup>. Bolinger maintains that ambient it is more than an empty  
surface element: it is determined by "obviousness". He observes  
sentences where the thematic it clearly refers to an inanimate  
participant (Bolinger 1973:272):

(5.246) Come down here in the basement and look at the way  
it's dripping water from every pipe. You'd swear  
they were leaks, but it's just condensation.

(5.247) I can't walk. It's oozing oil all over here!

---

1. Cf. also Russian dožd/cneg/idjot (= 'It is raining/snowing'):  
noun (!) rain/snow & verb of movement go.

Look at my shoes.

Ambient occurrence propositions have the same properties as agentive activity propositions towards the use of the SF and EF of the present perfect tense (see § 5.3.2.5, (4.92) and (4.93)):

(5.248) ? It has snowed/rained.

(5.249) It has been snowing/raining.

Sentences containing an expanded perfect tense form are frequently followed by an utterance referring to the 'present effects' of the process denoted by the first clause (see § 5.3.3.2):

(5.250) It had been raining, and the ground was too wet  
for them to go (JB:18).

This is again a case of factual or pragmatic inference (cf. Bolinger's notion of 'obviousness' in relation to the nature of it in occurrence propositions) and not one of the semantic implications of a particular tense form.

Utterances like (5.248) constitute a learning problem for G learners of E, since the usual way of expressing the situation referred to in (5.250), where the 'present effects' of a past occurrence are 'obvious', in spoken G is:

(5.251) Es hat geregnet/geschneit.

(5.251) is regarded by native speakers of G as an acceptable ('complete') utterance in this context, whereas the use of the preterite tense is considered odd here:

? Es schneite/regnete (it is felt to be an 'incomplete utterance').

This points to the crucial difference in the use of the two tense forms in G. The preterite tense is the zero tense in a narrative, eg:

(5.252) Gestern schneite es sehr. So gingen wir nicht  
ins Kino, sondern blieben zu Hause und sahen fern.  
Der Film war so langweilig, dass ...

Perfect tense forms, on the other hand, are employed much more in dialogues (one instance of Weinrich's DS). Cf. Lindgren's statistic analysis (quoted in Kluge 1965:76) of written literary G texts:

type of speech	preterite	perfect
narratives	90%	0.5%
direct speech	42%	56%

Fig. 8: Distribution of preterite and perfect tense forms in written G

As can be seen from item 1 in Table 28 (see § 5.3.2.7) G learners of E select (5.248) rather than (5.249) in a FCS - test.

5.3.6.3 Locative constructions: We may finally note that in scientific registers the idea of an ongoing occurrence situation is often encoded by locative constructions involving derived nominals:

(5.253) Most underground water is constantly in motion (W:63).

Das meiste unterirdische Wasser ist ständig in Bewegung.

(5.245) The molecules are in a permanent state of flux.

#### 5.4 Accomplishment propositions

##### 5.4.1 Types of accomplishment predicates

Within and across the four semantic classes of accomplishment propositions discussed in § 4.5.3 we can distinguish the following types of accomplishment predicates:

- i) existential causatives (= 'bringing into existence' or 'putting out of existence' of an 'object of result':

cf. Anderson's 'resultative' clauses, 1971:74f):

1. 'concrete objects': write a letter, build a house,  
make a dress/chair/film, knit a sweater, write a symphony,  
draw a circle, paint a picture, dig a hole,  
destroy a building, demolish the shack, etc,
2. 'more abstract' objects/entities: solve the problem,  
cause a disturbance, effect a cure, learn a poem,

learn to ride a horse, commit suicide, finish the job,  
etc.

- ii) temporalizable bounded entities (this applies to the kind of situation discussed by Verkuyl 1972:57, where the activity of an agent causes an abstract or concrete bounded entity 'to be mapped into the time-axis'): sing a song, eat one's dinner/an apple/a sandwich, read a book/the Cancer Ward, play a game of chess/a round of snooker, smoke a cigarette, drink a cup of tea, pick a basket of strawberries, run a race/a mile, fight a battle, deliver a sermon, utter a prayer, give a lecture, play a sonata/piano concerto, etc.

Taylor (1965:94) was probably the first who extended Vendler's class of accomplishments beyond the 'existential causatives': "brining into existence could be given as a characterization of any change whatever". Thus (at least) another five types of 'constructions' can serve as the predicate in accomplishment propositions:

- iii) the verb - NP - locative particle construction: throw the book away, turn the offer down, send someone away, wear something out, run an industry down, burn down a house, use up a sketch pad, wear out an anorak, starve someone out, etc.

We may observe with Dowty (1972:99f) that there are, in this construction, separate morphemes for the 'activity' and the 'resultant state' which we have identified as 'parts' of the semantic structure of accomplishment propositions: see § 4.5.3, (2.27). We can substitute one of the two morphemes while holding the other one constant: put away/down/aside etc. vs. put/go/take/run away etc. Dowty supports his claim of considering these expressions accomplishment predicates with the observation that these locative particles are

understood as reductions of change-of-state predicates, eg:

- (6.1) The TV is off (= 'The TV has gone/has been turned off').

Similarly, a sentence like The level of the lake is down (Dowty 1972: 101), but not The level of the lake is low, presupposes that there has occurred a change from a level that was once higher than it is now at  $PR_1$ .

- iv) the verb - NP - adjective construction: paint the door red, kick the door open, knock the man unconscious, shoot someone dead, work oneself into a frenzy, laugh yourself silly, shout oneself blue in the face,<sup>1</sup> make someone fat, pull something taut, get ready for something, etc.

This surface structure also has two separate morphemes for the subject's activity and the object's resultant state.

- v) verb-directional prepositional phrase construction:<sup>2</sup> walk to the beach, walk from the Castle to Holyrood Palace, put

- 
1. These reflexive constructions can be taken as additional syntactic support for the more complex (= 'bipartite') structure of accomplishment propositions. Thus we find reflexivization of the subject in connection with a resultant state with accomplishment, not however with the other event propositions:

- (6.2) Mary smoked herself hoarse/to death.  
(6.3)\* Mary woke herself up cold.  
(6.4)\* John detected himself silly/to death.  
(6.5)\* The potatoes boiled themselves hard.  
(6.6)\* My nose ran itself sore.

2. Not having available the precise lexicalization of this type of accomplishment predicate in the TL, one student expresses something like the underlying structure suggested in § 4.5.3 (CAUSE taking two sentential complements, namely an occurrence and a COME ABOUT proposition) in a somewhat cumbersome fashion:

- (6.7)? If a train passes a green signal, the train brings the signal in the red position (DS/FE, Hobby).  
(6.7a) ... dann springt das Signal auf rot/dann schaltet sich das Signal auf rot um.  
(6.7b) ... it makes the signal change to red.

This may be taken as an instance of the kind of idiosyncratic error Rossipal (1973:62) is referring to: see § 2.2.7.



someone to bed, beat/axe someone to death, take the car to pieces, smoke oneself to death, bore someone to death, talk oneself into a world of make-believe, drink oneself into oblivion, etc. - Consider also the following predicates in which the 'change of location' is lexicalized in the verb, ie, part of the denotation of the particular lexeme (hence the need for something like Gruber's principle of 'polycategorial lexical attachment'): cross the river/road, sink a battleship, lift a slab, usurp the throne, jail someone, draw a pistol,<sup>1</sup> etc.

- vi) transitive causatives (if intransitively used these predicates occur in happening propositions, ie, border-crossings and inchoatives): open the door, widen the ditch, tighten the control over s.th., dry the wood/baby, expand the system, enrich oneself, etc.
- vii) causativization of 'nominal' clauses (cf. Anderson 1971: 75f): elect someone president, appoint someone treasurer, take someone hostage, etc.

We may notice that, apart from 'durative' accomplishment situations, there are accomplishments which are normally conceptualized as 'momentary', examples of the latter being situations denoted by sentences containing the following predicates: kill, assassinate, shoot someone dead, break the dish/window, knock the door open, start a car, etc.

#### 5.4.2 Co-occurrence with various tense forms

5.4.2.1 Expanded present tense: If the ongoingness, at  $PR_1$ , of an

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1. Cf. the activity predicate draw the cart (die Pistole, den Wagen ziehen).

activity is to be denoted which, if allowed to continue in 'happy' conditions, will eventually result in the coming into existence of a concrete object (eg, sweater), to take an existential causative as an example, the EF of the present tense has to be selected:

(6.8) Mary is knitting a sweater (just now).

We observe the following entailments for sentences containing an accomplishment predicate in the expanded present tense form:

(6.8) Mary is knitting a sweater (at  $PR_1$ )

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \supset \text{Mary has been knitting a sweater up to } PR_1 \\ \{ \begin{array}{l} \neq \text{Mary has knitted a sweater} \\ \supset \text{Mary has not knitted a sweater yet} \end{array} \} \end{array} \right\}$$

This is to say we can - normally - only assert (6.8) if Mary has already begun knitting a sweater. If Mary has not yet started the action denoted by the predicate we can usually not select the EF. Here a comment on the use of 'normally' in the preceding two statements: on seeing Mary being engaged over a knitting pattern and laying out wool and needles, ie, when she has not produced something 'knitted' yet, a speaker can say (without this utterance being understood as a reference to future action): Oh, you are knitting a Shetland sweater. Similarly in a paint shop where the assistant may ask What are you doing?, and the customer may answer: I am painting my living-room red, ie, when he is 'only' buying the paint. This is a lexical problem. It is knowledge of the world that tells us that most accomplishment situations consist of successive existential phases involving various sub-activities and sub-accomplishments, part of which are probably the 'preparations' too. On the other hand, the EF can only be selected if the 'goal' implied by the particular accomplishment predicate has not yet been reached.

Sentences like (6.8) denote a continued (goal-directed) action (= 'Mary continues/goes on knitting (at) a sweater/Mary strickt an

einem Pullover'). They name, in a sense, an activity situation ('be in a state of sweater-knitting'). The crucial difference between sentences containing an expanded present tense form of an activity and an accomplishment predicate is that with the former we can assert that, eg, John is running entails John has run, whereas with (6.8) we cannot assert Mary has knitted a sweater. With unbounded nominals functioning as the grammatical object, sentences containing this type of predicate do not have the entailments which sentences like (6.3) have. Thus:

(6.9) Mary is knitting sweaters.

neither entails that 'Mary has not knitted a sweater', nor does it imply that 'Mary has knitted a sweater'. Similarly with a mass noun object; the sentence is compatible with both interpretations:

(6.10) Dave is still making furniture by hand (CSB:59).

Dave macht immer noch handgearbeitete Möbel.

(6.9) and (6.10) denote activity situations: 'be in a state of sweater-knitting/furniture-making'.

There is actually one example in the learners' CC in which an accomplishment predicate (make a speech) is 'transformed' into such a compound activity predicate, parallel to the non-existent 'sweater-knitting' (the EF is inappropriate in (6.11), because the utterance refers to a 'habitual' activity):

(6.11)\* Government and Opposition face each other. A small room is used because the members are not speech-making but carrying on a reasoned discussion in a conversational style (DS/GE, Commons).

(6.11a) ... the MP's do not make speeches but carry on a ...

This form constitutes a truly idiosyncratic error (see § 2.2.7) which supports Rossipal's hypothesis (1973:62) that some learner utterances

can be explained in terms of a pre-lexematic structure of generative capacity operating within the learner. There is indeed no reason why these forms should not one day 'pop up' in the standard E language.

To denote the ongoingness of a goal directed action at  $PR_1$  G can employ either the 'ordinary' present tense or various periphrastic means:

(6.12) Jack is painting the door green.

Jack ist dabei, die Tür grün zu streichen.

In G prepositional phrases can be used for sentences denoting the ongoingness of directed movement towards a terminal point:

(6.13) Jack is walking to the Castle.

Jack ist auf dem Wege zum Schloss.

This latter notion can also be expressed adverbially in G (especially be means of degree-adverbials like näher, allmählich, etc):

(6.14) New concepts are leading to a deeper understanding of such ancient problems as flooding, silting and erosion (W:90).

Uralte Probleme wie Hochwasser, Verschlammung und Erosion kommen damit der Lösung näher.

We may make the very general point, which also applies to the preterite tense, that a speaker can use the EF at a particular point of reference, even if he 'knows' or 'believes' that the goal implied by the sentence cannot be reached. Thus a boy who started building a sandcastle on the last day of his holiday can say (cf. Dowty 1972): I am building a sandcastle, even if he is sure that he cannot finish it in the last remaining hours of his stay at the seaside. The EF itself is non-committal as to whether the resultant state will or will not come about. The only thing which matters with a speaker using the EF of an accomplishment predicate is that

is that he believes, at the respective PR, that the goal would be accomplished if the action denoted the sentence were allowed to continue.

5.4.2.2 Simple preterite tense: The use of a simple preterite tense form with accomplishment predicates ( $= V_{acc}$ ), where the reference is to a specific object, always implies that the resultant state has come about. In other words, the sentence (which now denotes an accomplishment situation proper) denies that the subject is still engaged in the activity denoted by the predicate (the two instances of the determiner *a* are understood as co-referential):

- (6.15) Mary knitted a sweater  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \cancel{\supset} \text{Mary is still knitting a sweater} \\ \supset \text{Mary is no longer knitting a} \\ \text{sweater} \end{array} \right\}$

The fact that the goal has been accomplished is spelled out in a verbose fashion (cf. Levenston 1971:117 on 'verbosity' as one aspect of 'over-indulgence') in the following utterance; the marker of 'termination' is redundant:

- (6.16) One day he told a story about himself. When he had finished one Duke said: 'I could do the same' (NS/R, Knight).
- (6.16a) One day after he had told a story about himself one Duke said ...

The entailments for sentences containing an accomplishment predicate in the simple preterite tense form are different with inclusive (in-phrases) and scalar tensor adverbials (durational for-phrases). If John succeeded in learning a specific poem in one hour we can say at any 'relevant' moment during that period that he was learning a poem (= 'he was engaged in the activity of poem-learning'). Again we must allow for cases like John built a Polynesian raft in two years, where we may want to assume that he did not do



it during office hours, etc. (see § 5.3.2.3 on the notion of 'all' points of time). Hence:

(6.17)  $X + V_{acc} - \text{ed in } y \text{ time} \supset X \text{ was } V_{acc} - \text{ing at 'all' } t \text{ during } y$

This is not to assert the following implicational relationship:

(6.18) John learnt the poem in 60 minutes.  $\nexists$  John learnt the poem in 30 minutes.

It is the boundedness of the (accomplishment) situation, the terminus or goal implied by the sentence that rules out this kind of entailment. Cf, however, unbounded activity situations where, because of the 'homogeneous' nature of this type of situation, the following entailment holds with the corresponding sentences modified by durational for - adverbials:

(6.19) John played the piano for 60 minutes.  $\supset$  John played the piano for 30 minutes.

In other words, with an activity proposition we can assert that John did play the piano at 'any' moment during the period denoted by the adverbial: see § 5.3.2.3, (5.30). With an accomplishment predicate, on the other hand, we cannot assert with:

(6.20) John learnt Tam o'Shanter for 60 minutes.

that John did learn this poem at any moment during the period of time denoted by the adverbial.<sup>1</sup> The goal has not been reached yet, ie, the resultant state (= 'knowing the whole poem by heart') has not yet come about. Therefore:

(6.21)  $X + V_{acc} - \text{ed for } y \text{ time} \nexists X + V_{acc} - \text{ed at 'all' } t \text{ during } y$

---

1. We must also note the importance of certain pragmatic matters: Tam o'Shanter is a poem by Robert Burns of about 240 lines. See § 5.6.3.3 on the iterative interpretation of some utterances with durational adverbials.

but:

- (6.22)  $X + V_{acc} - ed \text{ for } y \text{ time} \supset X + V_{acc} - ing \text{ at 'all'}$   
 $t \text{ during } y$

Thus an utterance containing an accomplishment predicate in the simple preterite tense form in co-occurrence with a duational for - adverbial is 'normally', apart from the cases discussed in § 5.6.3.3, interpreted as referring to an activity situation. A few native speakers of E actually do not accept the SF in this context, cf. (6.23), others 'prefer' the encoding of this activity situation by means of the EF, ie, (6.24), or even the periphrastic form of (6.25):

- (6.23) Ian painted a picture for two hours.  
 (6.24) Ian was painting a picture for two hours.  
 (6.25) Ian spent two hours (on) painting a picture  
 (and then he did x and y).

The fact that (6.23) and (6.24) have the properties of an activity proposition also explains Crystal's 'puzzlement' with regard to the low or non-acceptability of sentences like:

- (6.26) I was cutting the lawn all morning (I cut ....: 'unlikely').  
 (6.27)\* I travelled to London all day.

"It would appear that there are verb classes which have a certain time-relationship 'built-in', which in the context of adverbial specification forces co-occurrence with progressive rather than simple, or vice versa" (Crystal 1966:15).

Notice that cut the lawn and travel to London are accomplishment predicates. Sentences having these predicates in the SF, in the presence of a subject like I, imply 'goal-attainment'. They are then modified by inclusive adverbials: I cut the lawn in three hours, I travelled to London in six hours (= accomplishment propositions). Hence the 'oddness' of the SF in sentences like (6.26) and (6.27)

containing durational adverbials (= activity propositions).

5.4.2.3 Expanded preterite tense: We can observe the following entailments with a sentence like (6.28):

(6.28) Mary was knitting a sweater at t/when A did z.

{ ~~≠~~ Mary knitted a sweater at t/when A did z. }  
{ > Mary had been knitting a sweater up to t. }

The goal implicit in the predicate is not accomplished at the particular PR:

(6.29) Branch valleys hang unfinished, having been robbed of the water which was cutting them (W:88).  
Nebentäler bleiben unvollendet, weil das Wasser, das sie [bis dahin] bildete, plötzlich verschwunden war.

Sentences containing an accomplishment predicate in the EF have the properties of an activity proposition. Thus we have, parallel to (6.19):

(6.30) John was learning a poem for 60 minutes, > John was learning a poem for 30 minutes.  
John spent 60 minutes learning a poem.

We may also note the incompatibility with inclusive adverbials:

(6.31)\* John was learning a poem in 60 minutes.

Sentences like (6.28) denote the ongoingness, at a PR, of a goal-directed activity, and since they carry no inherent implication as to whether the resultant state does or does not eventually come about they are compatible with the following clauses. Notice the idea of 'directed movement' ('towards') in either sequence:

(6.32) Ian was walking home when he met Dave.

{ Since Dave was thirsty they went to a pub and got drunk. }  
{ Since Dave wanted a long, quiet talk they went to Ian's house. }

By no means we can assert that at the particular PR the goal was

achieved. The fact that the activity is goal-directed also explains why we can continue a sentence denoting a goal-directed but non-terminative situation with finish, contrary to sentences denoting an activity situation proper ('not-goal-directed'):

(6.33) Ian was/had been painting a picture for two hours.  
But then he got fed up, stopped and finished it  
the next day.

(6.34) Ian was/had been running for two hours. But then he  
got fed up, stopped \* and finished it the next day.

The non-attainment of the goal at the PR in question can also be observed with sentences containing accomplishment predicates of the 'V - NP - locative particle' construction. Sentence (6.35) has the properties of an activity proposition, (6.37) the ones of an accomplishment proposition (some authors, eg, Macaulay 1971, talk about the 'perfectivizing effect' of these adverbial particles):

(6.35) I wore this anorak for ten years/until it fell to  
pieces.

(6.36)\* I wore this anorak out for ten years/until it fell  
to pieces.

(6.37) I wore this anorak out in ten years.

The selection of the EF has the effect of assigning the properties of an activity proposition to these sentences:

(6.38) I was wearing out this anorak when I saw another  
one and decided to buy it and throw away the old one.

(6.39) I was wearing out this anorak for longer than I  
expected.

There is probably a tendency to use the adverbial particle in post-object position if the resultant state is to be stressed (= accomplishment situation), whereas it can take either pre - or post - object

position in an activity proposition:

(6.40)? I wore out this anorak in ten years.

The low acceptability of (6.40) can also be explained in terms of 'given' and 'new' information (cf. Halliday 1967:206ff). The object NP this anorak would normally constitute 'given' information, if embedded in a discourse (notice the presence of the anaphoric determiner this). If the resultant state is to be denoted ('the anorak is worn out/in shreds'), the primary stress will fall on the adverbial particle, thereby assigning the value of 'new' information to the particle. Since in the unmarked case the information focus falls on the last lexeme in the information unit, the anaphoric object NP would be 'deplaced' in the end position and the locative particle, having the function of 'new' information, will move behind the 'given' elements.

From the published translations used for the CA of this study it would appear that the cases of a goal-directed but non-terminative activity (= use of EF with  $V_{acc}$ ) are usually disambiguated by lexical means in G. Since:

(6.41) Ian was solving Saporta's paradox~~on~~ of second-language learning at midnight.

can never entail: Ian did solve Saporta's paradox~~on~~ at midnight.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot render (6.41) by Ian löste Saportas Paradoxon um Mitternacht,

---

1. Consider the following case observed by Dahl (1973:22):

(6.42) Ian was solving Saporta's paradoxon when an explosion wrecked the whole building and blew his head off.

This admittedly rather forced utterance goes to show that it is not quite correct to state that "the progressive always indicates activity continuing both before and after the time indicated" (Palmer 1965:78). The only thing the EF per se denotes is the ongoingness of an event, here: a goal-directed activity is in progress at a PR set up by the context. Had the subject been allowed to continue the activity he was involved in at this PR he would have brought about, this is the speaker's belief (see above § 5.6.2.1), the achievement of the goal.



as this implies 'completion of the task'. Thus we have in G:

(6.43) Ian arbeitete um Mitternacht an (der Lösung zu)  
Saportas Paradoxon.

Ian sass um Mitternacht an der Lösung zu Saportas  
Paradoxon.

Ian versuchte um Mitternacht, Saportas Paradoxon  
zu lösen.

Similarly with the accomplishment predicate persuade:

(6.44) I was persuading Mary to come to the party when ...  
(= 'I was trying to persuade Mary ...', ie, 'I had  
not persuaded her yet when ...').

In other words, with these predicates the choice between the SF or  
EF of the preterite tense has direct semantic implications as regards  
the interpretation of these sentences in terms of the attainment or  
non-attainment of a goal. Notice the following periphrastic means  
in G for rendering the idea of 'incompleteness' in the case of  
'existential causatives':

(6.45) 'What's the meaning of education, Sandy?' - 'To  
lead out', said Sandy who was composing a formal  
invitation to Alan Breck (JB:37).

'Hinausführen, antwortete Sandy, die damit beschäftigt  
war,<sup>1</sup> eine formvollendete Einladung an A.B. zu  
verfassen.

(6.47) 'Next year when we go to the Festival ...' - 'Yes?' -  
She was making a wool rug ... (JB:26).

---

1. Cf. the possible E periphrasis be in the process of:

(6.46) This was a story, still in the process of composition,  
about Miss Brodie's lover (JB:18).  
Die Geschichte, an deren Fertigstellung sie noch  
schrieben, handelte von Miss Brodies Liebhaber.

Sie arbeitete an einem wollenen Läufer.

Accomplishment predicates comprising a verb plus a directional PP, where the notion of directed movement may be incorporated into the verb as in cross, also require usually periphrastic means in G to indicate that the terminal point had not been reached at a particular PR:

- (6.48) Mary tried to keep up with her. They were crossing the Meadows: Their destination was the Old Town (JB:29).  
Sie überquerten gerade die Meadows ...

Also with 'temporalizable bounded entities' (at the implied PR 'there is still something left' of the substance denoted by the mass noun):

- (6.49) On the far side of the room a small man was drinking a cup of coffee, his little eyes darting ... (LDR:51).  
... sass allein an einem Tisch ein kleiner Mann und trank seine Tasse Kaffee.

Or the two notions of attainment or non-attainment of the goal have different lexicalizations in G:

- (6.50) The smoke was choking her (JB:15).  
Der Rauch verstopfte ihr die Kehle ( $\neq$  'X is dead').  
(6.51) The smoke choked her (to death).  
Sie erstickte an dem Rauch ( $\supset$  'X is dead').

It is with the preterite tense that most errors with accomplishment predicates occur in the students written production (see § 3.4.8). As can be seen from Table 12 in § 3.4.1 there seems to be a tendency to 'over-use' the SF with these predicates where the context would have required an EF, eg:

- (6.52)\* Last night I dreamed a wonderful dream. I went down Kurfürstendamm and saw all the sad and angry gents ( $\Rightarrow$  people). They were coming from the offices and shops ... (NS/FE, Dream).

(6.52a) ... I was going down Kurfürstendamm ...

This hypothesis is confirmed by the learners' performance on an item taken from one of the essays which involves a directional PP; ie, at the PR implied by the context the goal-directed movement has not reached its terminus yet (Table 37):

Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object	
Ein Traum: One day I went to the cinema where I saw a western film. The story was about Mormons who _ from Arizona to Canada. On their way they met a family whose child had been taken away. Suddenly I was with the Mormons and I _ to Canada too. On our way we came across the Indians' homes and they attacked us... (NS/FE, Dream)	went	30	13½
	were going	12	15
	was going	15	15
	went	26	13½

Table 37: Directional PPs and EF

Only two utterances in the CC require the SF instead of the EF of an accomplishment predicate:

(6.53)\* One day I was going in the car and drove up (NS/FE, Dream).

(6.53a) Eines Tages stieg ich in das Auto und fuhr ab.

(6.53b) One day I got into the car and drove off.

Let us therefore follow up the question whether the students are 'aware' of the different semantic implications which the selection of either SF or EF has with these predicates. First the collocation with durational for - adverbials (Table 38):

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice item	Select	Object
1	Mary _ a sweater for 2 hours.	knitted was knitting	19 23	15½ 13
	Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc.	Eval. * +	Pref. RI Σ
2	Peter malte gestern 2 Stunden an einem Bild. a) Peter has been painting a picture for 2 hours yesterday. b) Peter was painting a picture for 2 hours yesterday c) Peter was painting at a picture for 2 hours yesterday. d) Peter was painting on a picture for 2 hours yesterday. e) Peter painted a picture for 2 hours yesterday. f) Peter spent 2 hours (on) painting a picture yesterday.	* + * * + +	42 9 30 21 35 16 45 6 23 28 20 31	2 190 11 153 7 164 4 178 15 134 20 124
	Test sentences: CI - N = 42		Yes No	? -
3	Mary knitted a sweater for 2 hours. a) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens bereits fertig. b) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens noch nicht fertig.		29 5 5 30	7 1 6 1
4	Mary was knitting a sweater for 2 hours. a) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens bereits fertig. b) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens noch nicht fertig.		24 8 6 25	10 0 11 0
5	Vergleiche: 'Mary knitted a sweater for 2 hours' und 'Mary was knitting a sweater for 2 hours'. a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt: b) Bei dem Satz 'Mary was knitting a sweater for 2 hours' liegt der Vorgang des Strickens weiter zurück als bei 'Mary knitted a sweater for 2 hours'. c) Mary hat gerade bevor der Satz 'Mary was knitting a sweater for 2 hours' gesprochen wird mit dem Stricken aufgehört; bei 'Mary knitted a sweater for 2 hours' liegt der Vorgang weiter zurück.		5 34 7 29 27 9	0 3 2 4 1 5

Table 38: Goal-directed but non-terminative activity

What evolves from these figures is the following (Table 38):

- i) there seems to be no clear preference for either SF or EF in this context (see item 1),
- ii) in a multiple-choice task first preference as a translation

equivalent is given to the periphrastic form in E (cf. 2f), rather than to the other two acceptable structures involving for-adverbials (2b/e),

- iii) sentences in which accomplishment predicates in preterite tense forms co-occur with scalar tensors are interpreted by the majority of learners as denoting the attainment of the goal implicit in the predicate, regardless of whether the latter is in the SF or EF (the difference is rather slight: cf. items 3 and 4); the fairly high number of 'doubtful answers' probably indicates that the question of the achievement or non-achievement of a goal is considered rather 'irrelevant' by the learners as regards their reading of these sentences,
- iv) far more (or: just as) significant to them seems the notion of 'recency', which clearly differentiates between the two sentences containing an EF or SF respectively (cf. 5b and 5c). The idea of 'recency' is again, as observed before (see § 5.2.1.5 and 5.3.2.1), associated with the EF.

We conclude that the vast majority of this group of learners do not have available to them the reading of sentences like (6.22) as denoting goal-directed but non-terminative activity. As they do not have internalized this notion it is not surprising that they make so many errors in their compositions with these predicates. The incorporation of these concepts into a pedagogic grammar is of utmost importance.

Similar observations can be made with sentences in which accomplishment predicates co-occur with inclusive adverbials. The presence of the latter is not strong enough a signal to prevent the acceptance of the EF in this context. Many students consider utterances



like (6.31) acceptable E forms (see Table 39, items 1 and 4c).

The fact that the choice between the two forms is not considered a very significant one by these learners is stressed by the observation that the unacceptable Mary was knitting a sweater in 5 days is read almost as often as the corresponding sentence with a SF (= accomplishment sentence) as expressing a terminated action (cf. 2a and 3b).

A considerable proportion of the students assign the idea of 'recency' to the ill-formed structure with the EF (cf. 4e):

No	Test sentence : FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	Mary ___ a sweater in 5 days.	was knitting knitted	15 27	20 10½
	Test sentences: CI - N = 42		Yes No	? -
2	Mary knitted a sweater in 5 days. a) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens bereits fertig. b) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens noch nicht fertig.		38 2 2 38	2 0 2 0
3	Mary was knitting a sweater in 5 days. a) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens noch nicht fertig. b) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens bereits fertig.		4 33 32 5	1 4 1 4
4	Vergleiche: 'Mary knitted a sweater in 5 days' und 'Mary was knitting a sweater in 5 days'. a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt: b) Der Satz 'Mary knitted a sweater in 5 days' ist eine allgemein gültige Aussage über die Dauer, die Mary zum Stricken eines Pullovers braucht. c) 'Mary was knitting a sweater in 5 days' ist ein grammatisch falscher bzw. sinnloser Satz, während 'Mary knitted a sweater in 5 days' korrekt und sinnvoll ist. d) Bei dem Satz 'Mary was knitting a sweater in 5 days' liegt der Vorgang des Strickens weiter zurück als bei 'Mary knitted a sweater in 5 days'. e) Mary hat gerade bevor der Satz 'Mary was knitting a sweater in 5 days' gesprochen wird mit dem Stricken aufgehört; bei 'Mary knitted a sweater for 2 hours' liegt der Vorgang weiter zurück.		5 36 25 16 7 33 4 33 15 24	0 1 0 1 0 2 2 3 2 1

Table 39: Accomplishment sentences

5.4.2.4 Simple present perfect tense: Provided the reference is to a specific object a sentence like:

(6.54) Mary has knitted a sweater.

denotes an accomplishment situation, which is to say that the event is understood as terminated at the PR, here the moment of speaking. These sentences are not 'odd', even out of context (contrary to activity propositions: see § 5.3.2.5). If the two instances of the determiner a are understood as co-referential the following entailments hold:

(6.55) Mary has knitted a sweater.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \neq \text{Mary is still knitting a sweater.} \\ \supset \text{Mary is not knitting a sweater any more.} \end{array} \right\}$

Since the sweater has come into existence, ie, the goal incorporated in the predicate knit a sweater has been attained, the subsequent sequences are a contradiction or tautology respectively (if there is co-referentiality):

(6.56)\* Mary has knitted a sweater, and she is still knitting at it.

(6.57)\* Mary has knitted a sweater, but she isn't knitting it any more.

Sentences like (6.54) pass the tests given for accomplishment propositions:

(6.58) Mary has knitted a sweater in five days.

It took Mary five days to knit a sweater.

If the reference is to a specific, uniquely identifiable 'object of result', sentences with the simple present perfect tense form of an accomplishment predicate together with a bounded nominal functioning as the subject cannot be interpreted iteratively:

(6.59)\* Mary has knitted  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a certain} \\ \text{my} \end{array} \right\}$  sweater before to make money.

If the object is a non-specific NP (= unbounded nominal) sentences with the predicate in the simple present perfect tense form are open to both the 'resultative' and the 'continuative' reading:

- (6.60) Mary has knitted  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{this (type of) sweater} \\ \text{sweaters} \end{array} \right\}$  before  
to make some money.

Hence the compatibility of (6.60) with either and she still does or but now she doesn't any more. In other words, (6.60) denotes an activity situation, as can also be seen from the co-occurrence with durational for - adverbials:

- (6.61) Mary has knitted  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{this (type of) sweater} \\ \text{sweaters} \end{array} \right\}$  for five  
years.

As we observed in § 5.3.2.5 activity propositions are potentially ambiguous, out of context, as to the 'resultative' or 'continuative' reading of the sentence containing a simple present perfect tense form. The same situation holds with activity situations as those denoted by sentences like (6.60): see also § 5.3.3.2, (5.148) and (5.149), or the effect of unbounded (= indefinite plural) object/subject NPs in making an originally bounded situation/proposition unbounded.

It can easily be seen that the idea of 'completion', which some grammarians (notably Hill 1958:211ff) have attributed to the function of have + en in general, only comes into force with accomplishment propositions. Consider the unequivocal example (a typical instance of the 'hot news' - use of the E perfect tense form: cf. McCawley 1971:104):

- (6.62) The IRA have assassinated Enoch Powell.

As always with the present perfect tense form we have to distinguish 'point of the event' and 'point of reference'. The event occurred at

some unidentified time in the past, ie, anterior to  $PR_1$ . Surely we cannot maintain that the 'act' of assassination is still taking place at the time of locution. What is still the case at  $PR_1$  is the existence of the resultant state, ie, E.P. is dead. Notice that the state obtaining at  $PR_1$  is ascribed to the referent of the grammatical object and not to the referent of the subject. This derives from the 'bipartite' semantic structure of accomplishment propositions. Only if the sentences containing a simple present perfect tense form denote an accomplishment (or happening) situation, we can justifiably make a statement like 'the present state is the result of the occurrence of an action in the past':

(6.63) Climbing Ben Nevis has exhausted Dave ( $\supset$  'Dave is exhausted now').

(6.64) Dave has learnt Tam o'Shanter by heart ( $\supset$  'Dave knows Tam o' Shanter by heart now').

(6.65) Dave has arrived at the station ( $\supset$  'Dave is at the station now').

Most scholarly descriptions have so far used this kind of semantic characterization to cover all the 'uses' of the E perfect tense form. To quote but one definition: it "connects a past occurrence with the present state as having results or consequences bearing on the present moment"<sup>1</sup> (Anderson 1973:33). Cf. also, et alia: Jespersen 1931:60, Traugott & Waterhouse 1969:299f, Huddleston 1969, Chafe 1970:172. But what are the 'present results or consequences' in

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1. This definition can also apply to accomplishment and happening propositions containing a simple preterite tense form:

(6.66) Dave learnt Tam o' Shanter by heart.

This does not necessarily imply that he does not know this poem by heart now. The difference in the use of the two tense forms is the notion of 'identified time'.

the following 'hot news' utterances referring to an activity situation?

(6.67) Elizabeth Taylor has smiled for the first time since her divorce from Richard Burton.

(6.68) Mr Nixon has visited China this week.

Clearly, the notion of 'present results and consequences' (as a semantic or logical concept) does not apply to activity propositions.

Where these are given with activity propositions (although most examples cited in grammars denote, in fact, accomplishment situations), they are instances of factual or pragmatic<sup>1</sup> but not of semantic implication, eg:

(6.67) ... she must have another lover.

(6.68) ... China's political role in the world is growing.

The following utterance from the learners' CC is also an example of factual implication:

(6.69) The watch has been cleaned. That covers ( $\Rightarrow$  blots out) some important facts. But from what I can see I can tell you the following ... (NS/GE, Holmes).

Twaddell's notion of 'current relevance' (see footnote below ) cannot be considered a distinctive semantic component of the function of the

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1. Factual implication also underlies the idea of 'current relevance' proposed by some authors with regard to the function (or 'meaning') of the E perfect (cf. Twaddell 1963, Palmer 1965:74f). Consider also Chafe's (1970:172) comment on Bob has sung: "Depending on the context, the consequence of this event may be that we are now aware that Bob can sing, having previously doubted it; that it is now possible for Bob to go home, since he has completed what he was here to do ...". Or observe the purely pragmatic inferences which Chafe (1970:173) makes in relation to an utterance like Bob has climbed Mt Whitney: "... this sentence means that the event of Bob climbing Mt Whitney took place prior to the utterance of the sentence, but that the consequences of this event are present at the time of utterance. It may be that Bob's prestige is higher because of his feat, that he can now add another mountain to the list of 14.000 - foot mountains he has climbed, or something else".



E perfect tense forms. The examples listed by Charleston (1960:233f) and Palmer (1965:75) are obvious instances of pragmatic inference, which can, however, not be attributed to the function of have + en per se:

- (6.70) I've finished my work ('So now I can rest').  
(6.71) Mr G has bought a car ('So now he needn't use buses').  
(6.72) I've told you already ('You are stupid', 'I won't tell you again').  
(6.73) They've fallen in the river ('They need help', 'Their clothes are wet').

If a sentence containing a simple present perfect tense form denotes an accomplishment situation a certain 'action' is understood as having occurred at some unidentified time in the past such that the resultant state (as a matter of semantic, not factual implication) still obtains at  $PR_1$ .<sup>1</sup>

On the so-called 'conclusive perfect': It would appear that the 'conclusive perfect' of traditional grammatical descriptions is only possible with accomplishment situations:

- (6.76) I have my letters all written.

The post-object position of the past participle is said to emphasize the present state more than the 'ordinary' perfect (cf. Jespersen 1940:16). This is often expressed lexically in G:

- (6.77) He has his head turned to the sea.  
Er hält seinen Kopf der See zugewandt.

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1. This is also valid for other perfect tense forms, namely when a  $PR$  is stated or when the reference is to the future:

- (6.74) Dave had learnt the poem by last Sunday (ie, prior to  $PR_2$ ).  
(6.75) Dave will have learnt the poem by next Sunday (ie, between now and next Sunday).

We do not get the same reading with happening and activity propositions:

(6.78)\* Paul had the plane spotted.

(6.79) Paul had the piano played (= 'Paul caused s.o. to play the piano').

5.4.2.5 Expanded present perfect tense: The use of the EF with accomplishment predicates always renders the situation unbounded (see § 5.6.2.3). The same can be observed with sentences containing the EF of the present perfect tense. Without additional contextual information (either pragmatic or because of the presence of appropriate adverbials) a sentence like:

(6.80) Mary has been knitting a sweater.

is ambiguous as to the 'resultative' or the 'continuative' interpretation of the denoted situation. Hence (6.80) is compatible with either of the two qualifications (once again this is not a matter of entailment):

(6.81) Mary has been knitting a sweater,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{and she still is} \\ \text{but now she isn't} \\ \text{any more} \end{array} \right\}$ .

This suggests that sentences like (6.80) have the properties of an activity proposition, ie, can be modified by scalar tensors but not by inclusive adverbials:

(6.82) Mary has been knitting a sweater for two days.<sup>1</sup>

Mary has spent two days knitting a sweater.

(6.83)\* Mary has been knitting a sweater in two days.

In denoting activity situations like (6.80), containing scalar

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1. Cf. also the entailment already observed in § 5.4.2.3, (6.30):  
(6.80) Mary has been knitting a sweater for two days.  $\supset$  Mary has been knitting a sweater for one day.

tensors can have both the resultative and the continuative reading:

- (6.84) Mary has been knitting a sweater for two days now  
(= 'continuative')

Mary strickt jetzt schon seit zwei Tagen an einem  
Pullover.

Utterances like (6.80) are 'normally' interpreted in the 'continuative' sense in actual discourse (= 'activity leading up to  $PR_1$ '); however, 'resultative' readings (= 'activity ceased some time before  $PR_1$ ') are possible too (though they seem to occur less frequently):

- (6.85) I have just been painting the door red for two hours.

- (6.86) ( $PR_1$  = 5 pm) Mary has been knitting a sweater for two  
hours this morning.

The 'resultative' interpretation of an utterance is not to be confused with the idea of 'having accomplished the goal'. The use of the EF with accomplishment predicates always implies that the goal incorporated by the predicate has not been reached at the respective PR. Hence the unacceptability of (6.83). The 'resultative' reading of an utterance and the idea of 'incompleteness' (better: 'non-attainment of the goal') are not contradictory notions with this type of predicate in the EF. If a speaker observes or regards a certain situation as not having reached the goal implicit in the predicate he will select the EF of the perfect tense (cf. also Leech 1971:46):

- (6.87) Who has been painting this picture? (▷ 'it is not  
finished yet').

- (6.88) Who has been eating this sandwich? (▷ 'there is  
still s.th. left').

- (6.89) He has been painting the wall red (▷ 'not the  
entire wall is red').

(6.90) The Government have been tightening the control over land speculation (> 'there are still further measures to be introduced').

(6.91) I have been tidying up the attic in my house (> 'it is not completely tidy yet').

The SF of the present perfect tense, on the other hand, implies with these sentences that the goal has been accomplished: the picture is finished, the sandwich 'is gone', the entire wall is red, all the measures considered necessary have come into operation, the attic is considered sufficiently tidy.

The conclusions drawn from the results of Tables 38 and 39 are confirmed by the analysis of Table 40:

- i) the majority of students interpret sentences containing accomplishment predicates in the expanded present perfect form as referring to 'terminated' actions (see 2a, 3a),
- ii) the use of the EF is again associated with the 'recency' of the event (cf. 2d, 4b), with 'duration' (cf. 2c, compare 4d with 4e), and a more 'idiomatic' way of expressing a certain state of affairs (compare 4g with 4f),
- iii) as with (atelic) activity propositions (see § 5.3.2.7, Table 29) the most preferred encoding of a 'continuative perfect' is not the appropriate structure with the EF of have + en but the ill-formed structure with the predicate in the expanded present tense form (cf. 1c with 1a).

On the basis of the results obtained from Tables 38 - 40 it seems rather safe to assert that the semantic implications associated with the use of the EF with accomplishment predicates are not yet

No	Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
			*	+	RI	Σ
1	Peter baut jetzt schon 2 Stunden an einer Strandburg.					
	a) Now Peter is building a sandcastle for 2 hours.	*	21	30	15	124
	b) Peter builds now 2 hours on a sandcastle.	*	33	18	11	156
	c) Peter has been building a sandcastle for 2 hours.	+	41	10	7	165
	d) Peter is building now for 2 hours by a sandcastle.	*	31	20	12	142
	e) Peter is building a sandcastle for 2 hours.	*	33	18	9	143
Test sentences: CI - N = 42			Yes	No	?	-
2	Mary has been knitting a sweater					
	a) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens bereits fertig.		29	8	3	2
	b) Der Pullover ist im Augenblick des Sprechens noch nicht fertig.		6	30	4	2
	c) Bei diesem Satz wird die Dauer des Vorgangs betont, z.B. wenn Mary sehr lange daran gearbeitet hat.		8	34	0	0
	d) Mary hat gerade bevor dieser Satz gesprochen wird mit dem <del>Sprechen</del> <sup>Stricken</sup> aufgehört.		25	11	2	4
	e) Dieser Satz wird benutzt, wenn der Vorgang des Strickens weiter zurück liegt.		6	30	2	1
3	Who has been painting this picture? -- Who has been eating my dinner? -- I have been cleaning my room.					
	a) Diese Sätze bezeichnen die Tatsache: das Bild ist fertig, der Teller ist leer, das Zimmer ist völlig sauber.		28	14	1	2
	b) Diese Sätze besagen, dass das Bild noch nicht fertig ist, dass von dem Essen noch etwas übrig ist, bzw. dass das Säubern nur unterbrochen wurde, das Zimmer also noch nicht ganz sauber ist.		10	29	2	1
4	Vergleiche: 'Who has painted this picture?' und 'Who has been painting this picture?'.					
	a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig.		8	31	1	2
	Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt:					
	b) Man hat gerade bevor der Satz 'Who has been painting this picture?' gesprochen wird mit dem Malen aufgehört; bei 'Who has painted this picture?' liegt der Vorgang weiter zurück.		26	13	0	3
	c) Bei 'Who has been painting this picture?' liegt der Vorgang des Malens weiter zurück als bei 'Who has painted this picture?'.		3	35	1	3
	d) Durch 'Who has been painting this picture?' wird eine längere Dauer des Malens bezeichnet als durch 'Who has painted this picture?'.		9	27	2	4
	e) Durch 'Who has been painting this picture?' wird eine kürzere Dauer des Malens bezeichnet als durch 'Who has painted this picture?'.		1	36	1	4
	f) 'Who has been painting this picture?' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'Who has painted this picture?'.		1	33	2	6
	g) 'Who has painted this picture?' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'Who has been painting this picture?'.		8	25	3	6

Table 40: Accomplishment predicates & EF of have + en



part of the 'grammar' of the IL of this group of learners. The selection of the EF then easily becomes a matter of 'random choice' with this type of predicate.

#### 5.4.3 Collocation with durational adverbials and quantifiers

##### 5.4.3.1 Quantification of the subject and direct object NP of count nouns

Assuming that a sandcastle is normally not brought into existence within the period of time denoted by for two hours but rather, let us say, after a whole day's work (see § 5.6.3 on the iterative interpretation of certain utterances), we can make the following observations:

(6.92)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ian} \\ \text{A boy} \\ \text{(The) boys} \\ \text{Dave, Jimmy and Peter} \\ \text{(These) 3 boys} \\ \text{Every/each boy} \\ \text{Dozens of/several boys} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{built} \\ \text{was/were building} \end{array} \right\}$	<p>a sandcastle for two hours</p>
--------	--	--	---

Given the presupposition stated above, as regards the time required for building a sandcastle, the direct object NP a sandcastle cannot be a bounded nominal in (6.92). The concrete object sandcastle is not understood as having come into existence within the specified period of time. Thus all the sentences of (6.92) fit the configurational scheme for 'imperfective aspect' set up by Verkuyl (see § 4.4.4), which we interpreted as denoting 'unbounded situations' (see § 4.7.2). Hence the acceptability of the sentences of (6.92) in naming an activity situation: 'Ian/the boys, etc. spent two hours building a sandcastle'. In denoting the ongoingness of the activity situation 'sandcastle-building' throughout the stretch of time named by the adverbial, the EF is the form 'preferred' by most native speakers of E.

- (6.93) { Ian  
A boy  
(The) boys  
... etc: cf. (6.92) } { built  
[was/were building] } sandcastles for  
two hours.

In having an indefinite plural count noun (= unbounded nominal) as the direct object the sentences of (6.93) denote again an activity situation ('sandcastle-building'), whose unbounded, ongoing character is 'stressed' by the selection of the EF. The sentences of (6.92) and (6.93) no longer accept inclusive adverbials, eg:

- (6.94)\* Boys (non-specific, ie:  $\neq$  'some boys') built a sandcastle in two hours.

- (6.95)\* Ian built sandcastles in five hours.

- (6.96) { \*Ian  
\* A boy  
\*(The) boys  
\*Dave, Jimmy and Peter  
\*(These) 3 boys  
\*Every/each boy } { built  
[was/were building] } { the sandcastle  
the sandcastles  
some/all (of)  
the sandcastles  
(these) 3 sandcastles  
each/every sandcastle } for  
two  
hours

All the sentences of (6.96), regardless of whether SF or EF is chosen, are unacceptable in their single event reading. Notice that both the subject and the object NP are bounded nominals, thereby giving rise to the configurational scheme for 'perfective aspect' (see § 4.4.4) or 'bounded situations'. The latter are incompatible with durational for - adverbials<sup>1</sup> (again we do not want to consider

1. Sentences containing a simple present perfect tense form of an accomplishment predicate together with a calendar tensor (since ...) and two bounded nominals denote an accomplishment situation, ie, the object came into existence within a certain period rather than 'for the duration of this period of time':

(6.97) Mary has knitted the sweater since Christmas

(= 'the sweater came into being at some point in the period between Christmas and now');

$\neq$  'the sweater came into being for the duration of the period between Christmas and now').

Cf. however:

(6.98) Mary has knitted a sweater since Christmas.

This sentence can have either interpretation, depending on whether the object nominal is bounded or unbounded; ie, whether the sentence denotes an accomplishment or an activity situation. The latter is expressed more 'naturally' by selecting the EF. Mary has been knitting a sweater since Christmas. The object is not finished yet at PR<sub>1</sub>.

here the possible iterative reading which we get with some scalar tensors in co-occurrence with a bounded situation: see § 5.6.3).

Notice particularly the incompatibility with cardinal numbers (= 'specified quantities' of an entity: ie, bounded nominals). Ruling out an iterative interpretation we do not have in the single event reading sentences like:

- (6.99)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Bob {read/was reading  
has read/has been reading} three books for ages.
- (6.100)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Mary {knitted/was knitting  
has knitted/has been knitting} three sweaters all summer.
- (6.101)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Ten soldiers {marched/were marching  
have marched/have been marching} from the Castle to Holyrood Palace for hours/all morning.

See § 5.6.3.2 on the incompatibility of the EF of momentary activity predicates with adverbials of absolute frequency.

#### 5.4.3.2 Quantification of the subject and direct object NP of mass nouns

The sentences marked \*<sub>(s)</sub> are not to be understood iteratively:

- (6.102) John wrote/was writing rubbish for months.
- (6.103)\*<sub>(s)</sub> John wrote/was writing a/the/each page of rubbish for months.
- (6.104)\*<sub>(s)</sub> John wrote/was writing the (10) pages of rubbish for months.
- (6.105) John wrote/was writing pages of rubbish for months.
- (6.106) The army caused/were causing chaos in the province for months.
- |                         |   |                             |   |   |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|---|
| (6.107)                 | { | South African gold          | } | produced/was producing chaos on the commodity market for weeks. |
| (6.108)* <sub>(s)</sub> |   | A/the/each ton of S.A. gold |   |   |
| (6.109)* <sub>(s)</sub> |   | (The) 10 tons of S.A. gold  |   |   |
| (6.110)                 |   | Tons and tons of S.A. gold  |   |   |

If both nominals are bounded entities the sentences are unacceptable

in the single event reading. If there is at least one unbounded nominal present (= unbounded situation), they can co-occur with durational for - adverbials without assigning an iterative interpretation to the sentence. These latter (acceptable) sentences have the properties of an activity proposition, as can be seen with the relevant tests:

(6.111)\* John wrote/was writing rubbish in two hours.

\* John took two hours to write rubbish.

Since the acceptable sentences denote unbounded activity situations anyway, the selection of the EF only serves to 'emphasize' the ongoingness of the activity throughout the period of time named by the durational adverbial. Conclusion: We can generalize the observations made in §§ 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 as regards the compatibility with quantifiers and durational adverbials as follows: sentences containing an activity, bordercrossing or accomplishment predicate in co-occurrence with at least one unbounded nominal denote an unbounded situation and have the properties of an activity proposition in relation to the temporal/aspectual modifications which they can take (durational for - adverbials, single event reading). Either SF or EF can be selected. If all the nominal categories are bounded NPs the basic proposition is bounded too (= bordercrossing or accomplishment situation) and is therefore incompatible with scalar tensors in the single event reading.

#### 5.4.4 Passives and participles

5.4.4.1 The 'stative' and 'non-stative' passive: Anderson (1973:34) has observed that there seems to be an "intimate connexion between the passive, the perfect and 'adjectives of state'". It can indeed be shown that the four proposition types distinguished here have different properties towards these 'forms'. On the one hand, the

bounded situations (happenings and accomplishments) go together, on the other hand, the unbounded ones (activities and states) share certain properties. Jespersen (1924:273ff) points out that E passive sentences containing 'conclusive verbs' have two interpretations, a difference which is spelled out in G by the use of the two auxiliaries werden and sein (the so-called Vorgangs - and Zustandspassiv):

(6.112) The house is built.

a) = 'The house is being built'

Das Haus wird gebaut/das Haus ist im Bau.

(ie, 's.o. is building the house'/'jemand baut das Haus')

b) = 'The house is completed'

Das Haus ist gebaut.

(ie, 's.o. has built the house'/'jemand hat das Haus gebaut')

This ambiguity as to the 'stative' or 'non-stative' reading of the E passive (cf. Anderson 1971:47f) is a feature of accomplishment propositions only; cf: his bills are paid, the man is axed to death, the door is locked/shut/painted green, etc. This underlines, once again, the complexity of their semantic structure (= two sentential complements of CAUSE). It is, however, only the 'short' passive that is ambiguous in this respect; the 'long' form, by spelling out the Agentive case element, has only the 'non-stative' reading (cf. Kruisinga 1931:38ff). Only the latter interpretation allows the expansion of the predicate:

(6.113) This house is (being) built by my parents.

In other words, the selection of the EF disambiguates E 'short' passives, which are then understood as denoting a goal-directed activity situation. The goal incorporated into the predicate of the



corresponding active sentences has not been reached at the PR in question. These sentences are translated into G either by the use of a Vorgangspassiv or a locative verbal noun construction:

(6.114) Canals were being increasingly built to service  
America's industries (W:133).

Auch in den USA wurden immer mehr Kanäle gebaut.

(6.115) Only now is a mathematical theory of river science  
being developed (W:90).

Erst heute ist eine mathematische Theorie der  
Flüsse im Entstehen.<sup>1</sup>

The learners' CC contains one utterance which requires an EF instead of a SF in the E passive sentence, as the context shows the object (of result) as not having come into (complete) existence at PR<sub>1</sub>:

(6.116) Now we have a new radio tower in the South of  
West-Berlin.

\* In East-Berlin, on the Alexander Place, is another  
radio tower built. When it is ready it has (⇒ will  
have) a height of about 360 metres (DS/FE, Letter).

(6.116a) ... a third radio tower is being built in East-Berlin,  
on the Alexander Square.

About half the group accept a passive sentence with an accomplishment predicate in the EF as the translation equivalent of the G locative construction (Table 41, item 1a). Only very few students accept the 'short passive' with a non-expanded verb form

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1. Notice the possible E locative constructions: be under construction/formation; also with activity predicates: be under review/negotiation/consideration. The structures are notionally equivalent to 'non-stative' passives.

as an appropriate translation (cf. 1d), although the pedagogic grammar by which they were taught (see § 6.1) points out the ambiguity of these sentences. This is confirmed by the interpretation test, in which an equally small number of students recognize this ambiguity (cf. 2c and 3c). Instead, the vast majority interpret these 'short passives' as expressing the accomplishment of a resultant state (items 2a, 3b):

No	Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
			*	+	RI	Σ
1	Das Haus ist im Bau.					
	a) The house is being built.	+	24	27	20	126
	b) The house is in the build.	*	42	9	6	168
	c) The house is in building.	*	28	23	16	123
	d) The house is built.	+	48	3	0	184
	e) The house is building.	*	33	18	10	162
Test sentences: CI - N = 42			Yes No		? -	
2	The cat is killed.					
	a) Die Handlung ist bereits abgeschlossen; d.h. hier, die Katze ist tot.		37	5	0	0
	b) Die Katze wird gerade getötet.		5	34	2	1
	c) Der englische Satz ist mehrdeutig, er kann beide deutschen Interpretationen haben.		4	36	1	1
3	The chair is broken.					
	a) Der Stuhl wird gerade zerbrochen.		10	31	1	0
	b) Die Handlung ist bereits abgeschlossen; d.h. hier, der Stuhl ist kaputt.		31	10	0	1
	c) Der englische Satz ist mehrdeutig, er kann beide deutsche Interpretationen haben.		4	37	0	1

Table 41: Short passives

This kind of ambiguity is not found with bordercrossing and activity propositions:

(6.117) The book is lost - Das Buch ist verloren.

(6.118) The fault is detected. - Der Fehler ist entdeckt.<sup>1</sup>  
(ie, 's.o. has detected the fault'/'jemand hat den Fehler entdeckt')  

---

1. Notice the 'associated accomplishment sense' of discover (= 'seek & find': see § 5.1.7, sentence (3.93)) in instructions:  
(6.119) Possible faults are detected by doing x, y and z!  
Eventuelle Fehler werden gefunden, indem ...

The interpretation of (6.117) and (6.118) is that the change-of-state has come about: notice the Zustandspassiv in the G translations. The passive of transitive activity propositions, on the other hand, is unambiguously understood as 'non-stative' (= Vorgangspassiv):

(6.120) The car is driven by Paul. - Das Auto wird von Paul gefahren.

(6.121) The cart is pushed by Jane. - Der Handwagen wird von Jane geschoben.

(ie: 's.o. is pushing the cart'/'jemand schiebt den Handwagen').

Similarly, the interpretation of state propositions in the passive form is 'state in existence now':

(6.122) Shakespeare is honoured/admired by everybody.

Shakespeare wird (ist) von allen geehrt/bewundert.

(ie: 's.o. honours Sh.'/'jemand ehrt Shakespeare').

#### 5.4.4.2 The attributive use of the past participle: Similar

implications can be observed with the attributive use of the past participle: cf. Andersson (1972:35f) for a discussion of some uses of the participle II in G. Most accomplishment and happening predicates<sup>1</sup> can be employed as attributes, at least in G:

(6.125) a locked/shut/painted door - eine verschlossene/  
geschlossene/gestrichene Tür

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1. Notice that 'true' bordercrossing predicates do not have a participle I in G, contrary to inchoative predicates and those happening predicates which allow for a 'gradual approach towards the final momentary transition' (in E: die, arrive, stop, see § 5.2.1.4):

(6.123) \* ein den Fehler entdeckender Handwerker, \* ein das Buch findender Mann, \* ein versterbender Mann, \* ein den Hirsch erjagender Jäger

(6.124) ein ankommender Zug, ein sterbender Mann, eine kalt werdende Suppe, ein alternder Student

- (6.126) a conquered town - eine eroberte Stadt
- (6.127) a broken chair - ein zerbrochener Stuhl
- (6.128) a widened ditch - ein verbreiteter Graben
- (6.129) a drawn/loaded pistol - eine gezogene/geladene Pistole

All these expressions denote that the resultant state has come about,  
eg:

- (6.126) The town is conquered. - Die Stadt ist erobert.  
(ie: 's.o. has conquered the town'/'jemand hat die Stadt erobert').

In G, the attributive use of the participle II is also possible with the other types of accomplishment predicates (see § 5.4.1), in E this process is not so productive:

- (6.130) a burnt-down cottage - eine abgebrannte Bauernkate
- (6.131) a worn-out suit/tyre - ein abgetragener/abgefahrener Anzug/Reifen
- (6.132)\* a green-painted door - but: eine grüngestrichene Tür
- (6.133)\* a to-death-beaten child - ein zu Tode geprügeltes Kind
- (6.134)\* the into-the-hall-danced couple - das in den Saal getanzte Paar
- (6.135)\* the 'across-the-lake-swum boy - der über den See geschwommene Junge
- (6.136)\* the into-the-street-gone man - der auf die Strasse gegangene Mann

Again the participle II denotes that the resultant state has come about:

- (6.130) The cottage is burnt down. - Die Bauernkate ist abgebrannt.
- (6.135) Der Junge ist über den See geschwommen (notice the use of the accusative case in G!).

The use of sein in G (= Zustandspassiv) underlies the following interference based error:

(6.137)\* But very soon the cable was broken [= 'war zerbrochen']  
and could never be found (NS/R, Cable).

(6.137a) Soon the cable broke and could never be found.

The participle II of intransitive and transitive activity predicates, on the other hand, can not be employed attributively as easily as the goal-incorporating predicates:

(6.138)\* a run/laughed/danced/swum person

\* eine gerannte/gelachte/getanzte/geschwommene Person

(6.139)\* a driven/pushed car/cart<sup>1</sup>

\* ein gefahrener/geschobener Wagen/Handwagen

This is not the place to investigate the nature of the restrictions operating in G as regards the attributive use of the participle II of activity predicates. Even when this is possible as in:

(6.141) ein von Jackie Stewart gefahrener Wagen

we can make the general point that these attributes are not understood as denoting the coming about of a change-of-state. The unacceptability of:

(6.142)\* der im See geschwommene Junge, \* der auf der Strasse  
gegangene Mann, \* das im Saal getanzte Paar

would also seem to be due to their being reductions of activity propositions, eg: Das Paar hat im Saal getanzt (note the dative case!).

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1. Apparent counter-examples can (sometimes?) be identified as reductions of accomplishment propositions:

(6.140) the driven snow (= 'snow which has been driven aside') -  
der abgetriebene Schnee



## 5.5 State propositions

### 5.5.1 Classes of state predicates

5.5.1.1 'Variable' and 'non-variable' state situations: Authors writing in the philosophical tradition (Kenny, Potts, Vendler; but also Dowty) declare that 'statives' do not occur in the EF. However, traditional grammars list many examples of 'stative verbs' (=  $V_{st}$ ) in the EF ('exceptions'). One of the difficulties with these examples is that they are often instances of 'homonyms', ie, two or more lexemes having the same realization.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore not surprising when the individual homonyms have different properties towards the EF (see eg, § 5.5.4 on feel). The observed discrepancies can frequently be traced back to the fact that the sentences containing the particular predicate denote an event rather than a state situation (see eg, § 5.5.8 on think). We may further notice that not all the 'stative verbs' show the same properties towards the EF. They vary very much in the 'degree' with which they resist expansion. First of all, we will have to clarify our concept of state situation/proposition. Semantically speaking, a situation is considered a state where the 'state of affairs' referred to is 'non-dynamic'<sup>2</sup> and is regarded as not having defined temporal limits (= 'non-dynamic' unbounded situations). We will then have to make a basic partition between state situations which are syntactically 'non-static', ie, take the EF readily, and those state situations which are also

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1. I am not aware of any sound test to distinguish homonymous from polysemous verbs (ie, one lexeme having two senses).

2. They do not take the periphrasis be in the process of: see § 5.1.7, sentences (3.101) and (3.102).

syntactically 'static', ie, do normally not occur in the EF but the SF.

The former will be referred to from now onwards as 'variable' state situations/predicates, the latter as 'non-variable' state situations/predicates: see § 4.1.8 on Schopf's (1969) concept of the 'predication of a variable property'. The notion of 'variability' will be elaborated upon as the discussion of this section proceeds. With Schopf (1969) we will state that even the non-variable state propositions do not form a homogeneous group as regards the 'facility' with which they take the EF. The important thing is that there are conditions under which even these propositions allow the expansion of the predicate. It is these 'extreme cases' (the alleged 'exceptions' of traditional overall and pedagogic grammars) which will reveal the specific semantic function of the EF most clearly. The guiding principle underlying the subsequent presentation has been stated aptly by Koschmieder (1929:24):

"Nützig wird es hingegen sein, mit der Untersuchung dort einzusetzen, wo sich die Kategorien in ihrer Verwendung ausschliessen. Dort zeigt sich nämlich am besten ihre Gegensätzlichkeit, d.h. es zeigt sich, der Differenzierung welcher Gegebenheiten sie dienen sollen".

We have arrived at the following classification of state predicates (see Fig. 9 & 10). These classes have been ordered in accordance with their increasing incompatibility with the EF.

5.5.1.2 A syntactic argument for considering 'non-variable' state propositions inherently unbounded temporal entities:

Non-variable state propositions proper do not enter the binary aspect-opposition, they normally have the predicate only in the SF (see §§ 5.5.6 - 5.5.9 for a discussion of the conditions under which the EF is possible). They also differ from event propositions

in that they cannot enter the constructions which we characterized above (see § 5.2.1.4 and 5.4.1) as specifying overtly the resultant state the referent of a subject or object nominal finds itself in a bounded proposition; especially the 'verb - (NP) - locative particle', the 'verb - NP - adjective' and the 'verb - directional PP' construction:

- (7.1)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{ hear} \end{array} \right\}$  s.o./oneself unconscious/to the beach/to death/s.th. up  
 (7.2)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{ know} \end{array} \right\}$   
 (7.3)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{ own} \end{array} \right\}$

Forms like think s.th. up, stand s.th. up or see s.o. down are quite different lexemes, they are accomplishment predicates taking an agentive subject. Certain state predicates of the group which denotes spatial relationships (see § 5.5.9.4) do occur with PPs: The motorway/fog stretches from X to Y. But these are not counter-examples, since these predicates are 'pseudomotional' in character. They do not incorporate the dynamic property of 'directed movement'. This gives support to our position of considering non-variable state propositions the semantic correlate of inherently unbounded situations, contrary to inherently bounded situations like border-crossings and certain accomplishments. Neither are these state propositions inherently specified for incorporating a certain goal nor can they be modified by linguistic means (as many 'unspecified' activity propositions can, especially by appropriate nominals: see § 4.7.2), such that the 'new' configuration of verbal and nominal elements together involves a 'terminal point' (= bounded situation). State propositions denote the most 'basic' situations, all the other propositions are more complex.

Variable state situations containing:		
'extensive' predicates	'verbs of bodily sensation'	'verbs of posture'
<u>live (in London)</u> <u>stay (in a hotel)</u> <u>keep a secret</u> <u>bear a grudge</u>	<u>feel</u> <u>ache</u> <u>itch</u> <u>hurt</u>	<u>hang</u> <u>lie</u> <u>sit</u> <u>stand</u>

Fig. 9: Variable state predicates

Non-variable state situation containing verbs/predicates of:									
perception			emotion		cognition		relation		
							be		have
							be & adjective/ nominal	'hyponyms' of be	possession
								semi- copulas	& Locative subject
<u>see</u> <u>hear</u> <u>feel</u> <u>smell</u> <u>taste</u>	<u>want</u> <u>like</u> <u>desire</u> <u>love</u> <u>hate</u>	<u>know</u> <u>believe</u> <u>hope</u> <u>think</u> <u>doubt</u>	<u>be tall</u> <u>be dead</u> <u>be awake</u> <u>be president</u> <u>be a bastard</u>	<u>remain</u> <u>equal</u> <u>matter</u> <u>resemble</u> <u>suffice</u>	<u>have</u> <u>own</u> <u>possess</u> <u>belong to</u>	<u>weigh</u> <u>cost</u>	<u>contain</u> <u>consist of</u> <u>include</u> <u>encompass</u>	<u>seem</u> <u>appear</u>	<u>spatial</u> <u>relation-</u> <u>ships</u>
									<u>go</u> <u>run</u> <u>flow</u> <u>extend</u> <u>border</u>

Fig. 10: Non-variable state predicates

## 5.5.2 Co-occurrence with tenses

In this section we will discuss only those properties of state propositions in relation to the co-occurrence with tenses, especially the preterite and the perfect, which are shared by all of them.

5.5.2.1 The preterite tense: As state situations are true for a period of time, the corresponding propositions can easily be modified by durational adverbials. Since state situations are also 'homogeneous' in character, similar to activity situations, the same entailment holds with either type of proposition (see § 5.3.2.3, (5.30)):

$$(7.4) \quad X + V_{st} - ed + for\ y\ time \supset X + V_{st} - ed\ at\ 'all' \\ t\ during\ y$$

The modification for 'at all t during y' suggested in § 5.3.2.3 is here valid too. If we assert, eg:

$$(7.5) \quad \text{Dave depended on his wife's help and encouragement} \\ \text{for ten years.}$$

this applies only to all 'relevant' and/or 'possible' moments during the period denoted by the adverbial. With durational adverbials where the starting point is indefinite (till-phrases) we have:

$$(7.6) \quad \text{Dave loved his wife until she left him one day.} \supset \\ \text{Dave had loved her until then.}$$

Or generalized:

$$(7.7) \quad X + V_{st} - ed\ until\ t \supset X + had\ V_{st} - en\ until\ t$$

The use of the preterite tense in a state proposition, in co-occurrence with a scalar tensor, implies that the situation denoted by the sentence must have been in existence before  $PR_1$ , it no longer exists at the time of locution:

$$(7.8) \quad \text{Dave lived in Edinburgh for five years.}$$

If the denoted situation is not true at  $PR_1$  any more, then Dave



must be either dead or is still alive but has gone to live somewhere else. In either case the situation denoted by (7.8) is regarded by the speaker as being separated, in its entirety (cf. also Leech 1971:9), from  $PR_1$ . These sentences are not understood as naming 'unrestricted states' (see § 5.3.4.1). They rather denote situations of 'limited duration', which are seen by the speaker as a whole, regardless of the actual temporal extension of the situation as indicated by the durational adverbial:

- (7.9) The Picts lived along the West Coast for thousands of years.

5.5.2.2 The perfect tense: The learners' CC has the following errors in it which can be attributed to  $L_1$  - transfer:

- (7.10)\* For 50 years the most important thing are the fire-place, the table ... (DS/FE, Woman).  
(7.10a) Seit 50 Jahren sind die wichtigsten Dinge der Ofen, der Tisch ...  
(7.10b) For 50 years the most important things have been the ...

In the same essay the same student alternates with the preterite tense:

- (7.11)\* For 50 years all the humans thought that the mother of a family has to stand in the kitchen (DS/FE, Woman).  
(7.11a) For the last 50 years all human beings have thought that ...

There is also one example in the CC where a preterite tense form can co-occur with a scalar tensor (see above):

- (7.12) My mother, for example, was such a poor woman for 12 years. Then my sisters and me were a bit more sensible, and she went to the hospital for to be

a nurse again like she was before she married  
my father (DS/FE, Woman).

The situation denoted by the first clause of (7.12), namely the unhappiness of the writer's mother, is clearly understood by the additional information provided by the discourse as being no longer in existence at  $PR_1$ . Hence the acceptability of the preterite tense in this context. State propositions containing a simple present perfect tense form in co-occurrence with scalar tensors are usually given the 'continuative' interpretation. The situation still obtains at  $PR_1$  if the appropriate adverbials are selected (since ..., for the last/past five years, etc):

(7.13) Dave has loved Mary {since he met her in the park  
for the last/past five months}.

Sentence (7.13) is incompatible with but now he doesn't any more.

It is not only the kind of adverbial that has to be taken into account but also the way the state situation is conceptualized by the speaker.

If, eg, the ownership in (7.14) is regarded as an 'unbroken' state we can assume that the situation still holds at  $PR_1$ :

(7.14) Dave has owned a Jaguar since he won in the pools/  
up to now,

{ \* but now he doesn't any more  
and despite the cost of petrol he intends to keep  
it in the future too }

If the state situation is conceptualized as a 'reversible' and hence potentially 'repeatable' one (see § 5.5.9.1), we cannot necessarily assume that the situation still exists at the moment of speaking:

(7.15) I have owned a Volkswagen at least twice since 1960, but I don't have one now.

(7.16) The window has been broken twice since Christmas,  
but it is all right now.

Irreversible states (see § 5.5.9.1) are necessarily understood as still obtaining at  $PR_1$ :

- (7.17) Your grandfather has been dead, if I remember correctly,  
for many years (NS/GE, Holmes).

The fact that (7.17) has the implication that the grandfather is still dead at  $PR_1$  (= 'continuative' reading) can, however, not be attributed to the function of have + en on its own. There is no such thing as a 'continuative perfect', not even if it co-occurs with state predicates (this is assumed even by authors who take the 'lexical meaning' of predicates into account: Ota 1963, Bauer 1969). The 'continuative' interpretation is due to the type of adverbial and the 'inherent' properties of the denoted state situation, or the way the situation is conceptualized by the speaker, ie, a pragmatic matter.

Consider now the collocation with durational adverbials which do not necessarily include PR ('absolute' adverbials):

- (7.18) Dave has lived in Edinburgh { for five years  
for the first half of his life  
for the first two months this year  
in his childhood  
and he still does  
but now he doesn't any more } .

There is no logical incompatibility with an adjunct specifying the state situation as being no longer in existence at  $PR_1$ . It does not 'lead up' to  $PR_1$  (= 'resultative' reading). Cf. also the following utterances understood as 'resultative':

- (7.19) I have been hungry all day, but now I am not.

- (7.20) S.o. comes back to a place where he lived years ago:

'I have lived here for four years, four beautiful years they were'.

Notice that the  $PR_1$  is included in the period of time denoted by all day or the implicitly understood 'for four years of my life': cf. the parallelism with time-when adverbials like this morning (see §5.3.2.7). The reason why probably most instances of the present perfect tense in co-occurrence with state predicates and durational for - adverbials are assigned a 'continuative' reading is largely a pragmatic matter. Most situations in actual discourse are self-evident as to whether the situation referred to exists at  $PR_1$  or not (eg: a window is broken or not-broken, etc), or are 'known' to the speaker as either one or the other. As Sørensen (1964:76) points out, an utterance like:

(7.21) Have you ever (in your life) lived in Edinburgh?  
is not 'meaningful' if the speaker 'knows' his addressee to be living in Edinburgh. What the speaker is interested in in uttering (7.21) is whether the other person has actually lived there during some unidentified period of his life; and since the addressee is obviously still alive the situation, if it existed at all, existed some time before  $PR_1$  but in a period leading up to now. This is the kind of situation referred to by Zandvoort (1972:62) as the "perfect of experience". It will have become obvious, however, that we need not postulate yet another, a third, 'meaning' of the E perfect. To come back to (7.21): if the speaker knows his listener to be living in Edinburgh the here & now - reference is taken for granted in the discourse:

(7.22) A: Have you lived in Edinburgh all your life [ie, 'up to now']?

B: {No, I've lived here only for four years.}  
{\* No, I am not living here any more.}

Out of context we cannot decide whether the situation denoted by:

(7.23) The window has been broken (for a week).

is still obtaining at  $PR_1$  or not. In actual discourse the alleged ambiguity of utterances like these hardly ever exists (for the same conclusion, cf. Morrissey 1973:65ff). If there should be any doubt the 'potential' ambiguity can be resolved by stating explicitly the state of affairs at  $PR_1$ : it is still broken vs. it isn't broken any more. The only thing the E perfect tense per se denotes is that a situation existed at some unidentified point or for some unidentified period of time (= 'not definitely located') prior to a particular point of reference.

It has often been pointed out since Jespersen (1931:66) that the present perfect tense cannot be used with subjects whose referents are not alive any more at  $PR_1$ , except when there is some "posthumous influence" felt:

(7.24) Newton believed in an omnipotent God.

(7.25)\* Newton has believed in an omnipotent God.

(7.26) Newton has explained the movements of the moon.

Vice versa, in observing a perfect or a preterite tense form, we can usually infer that the referent of the subject NP still exists or does not exist any more at  $PR_1$  (examples taken from Leech 1969:156):

(7.27)	{	The Hitties produced	}	few great sculptors.
(7.28)		* The Hitties have produced		
(7.29)		The English have produced		

Notice now that the Hitties could have produced sculptors only while they were 'alive' ('in existence as a culture'), and Newton could believe in God only while he was alive, whereas the explanation of the movements of the moon (which is still with us now at  $PR_1$ ) does not necessarily depend on Newton (its originator) still being alive or being already dead. Similarly a person has to be alive to be



frightened, hence (examples (7.30) and (7.31) are taken from McCawley 1971:106):

(7.30) \* Frege has been frightened by many people.

But someone need not be alive to be heavily criticized for the works which he once published and which are still with us now:

(7.31) Frege has been denounced by many people.

This can be glossed as follows: 'many people have denounced Frege's logical theory'. The examples given here underline again the importance of the point of reference for the use of the present perfect tense. Notice that underlying (7.26) and also the subject NP of (7.31) are accomplishment propositions: 'Newton/Frege created a mathematical/logical theory'.<sup>1</sup> These are events which took place before  $PR_1$ ; the abstract objects of result are, however, still in existence at  $PR_1$ , and could therefore, eg, have been denounced by anybody living in the period leading up to now, including our contemporaries. The unacceptable sentences (7.25), (7.28) and (7.30), on the other hand, denote activity or state propositions, where the predication of a certain 'property' on the subject argument can only obtain (or: can only be true or be the case) for the period of existence of the referent of the subject (ie, the predicated 'property' can only exist, at the best, for as long as the referent of the subject exists). And since its 'life span' is known to have come to an end before  $PR_1$ , the present perfect tense is not acceptable in these sentences.

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1. Jespersen (1931:66) also noted that sentences like (7.26) can be paraphrased by a copula sentence like 'X is the originator/author of', this example being:  
(7.32) Shakespeare has written the greatest tragedies the world has ever seen.

State propositions containing a simple present perfect tense form are 'unhappy', just like activity propositions, without an accompanying adverbial of duration (though they are, of course, acceptable as elliptical utterances):

(7.33) ? The Buddha has stood on the mantelpiece.

(7.34) ? John has lived in London.

(7.35) ? Dave has wanted/owned a Jaguar.

(7.36) ? Dave has known the truth.

If modified by durational adverbials they are perfectly well-formed and acceptable even out of specific contexts:

(7.37) John has lived in London for ten years.

(7.38) John has owned a Jaguar ever since he hit the jackpot in the pools.

The adverbs of 'total' frequency or 'non-frequency' (always and never), which can be accounted for in terms of 'universal quantification' (cf. Leech 1969:128f), have the same effect as regards the immediate acceptability of these sentences:

(7.39) Dave has always/never wanted a Jaguar (all his life).

(7.40) Dave has always/never known the truth (all his life).

This backs up the entailment suggested above (see (7.4)) in that the denoted situation exists at 'all' (relevant) points of time during the period named by the adverbial; ie, sentences like (7.37) and (7.38) denote the 'continuous' existence of a state situation throughout the period of time named by the adverbial. This contrasts clearly with the interpretation of bounded happening and accomplishment propositions in contexts of this kind (see § 5.4.3.1, (6.98) on the potential ambiguity of sentences with the object NP having the indefinite article as the determiner):

(7.41) { Dave has realized his main weakness } since his wife left  
      { Dave has built a cottage } him in 1968.

The resultant state is thought of having come about at some point within the period of time stretching up to now, ie, prior to  $PR_1$ .

We will now follow up the various types of state propositions with special regard to the EF.

### 5.5.3 'Extensive' state predicates

5.5.3.1 State predicates like live, stay, keep, bear, but also rule, dominate, etc. occur frequently in the EF. The most characteristic feature of sentences containing these predicates in the EF is that they denote a variable property of the referent of the subject NP, a phenomenon which is generally described (cf. et alia Kruisinga & Erades 1953, Dietrich 1955, Twaddell 1963, Palmer 1965, Chafe 1970) as a state being 'temporary' or having 'limited duration', as opposed to the corresponding sentences with the predicate in the SF which are understood as predicating 'permanent' or 'invariable' properties of a subject argument:

(7.42) Wilson is living in one of the Nissens (HM:200).

Er wohnt jetzt in einer der Militärbaracken.

(7.43) I am staying in a Bed & Breakfast place (for the time being/at present).

(7.44) The left wing of the party is (no longer) dominating the congress (this year).

The presupposition associated with the use of the EF, namely that the predicated property of a given subject argument is a variable one, has the effect with state propositions (where the corresponding situations are normally regarded as not having defined temporal limits) that the denoted situation is understood as having temporal limits, ie, being 'limited in duration'. Very much in analogy to the 'dynamic' event propositions the selection of the EF with state

predicates 'makes us think' of the adjacent phases of inception and cessation which a situation, that is presently obtaining at or around a particular PR, must have. Hence the reading of 'limited duration'.

There seems to be little difference in 'meaning' between sentences containing the SF and the EF of the present perfect tense:

(7.45) I have lived/been living in Edinburgh for years.

(7.46) Fiona has borne/been bearing a grudge against Dave  
ever since he insulted her.

The explanation for this is to be found in the interaction of the function of the EF and the particular type of proposition/predicate the EF occurs in/with. Since the EF denotes the 'existential location' of a situation at or around a particular PR (see § 4.1.2), and since state propositions are, by definition, semantically 'non-dynamic', the 'dynamic' facet of the function of the EF which we get with event and process propositions (namely 'ongoingness') does not apply. It is neutralized with state propositions. The situations referred to by utterances (7.45) and (7.46) are understood, in their 'continuative' reading, as being in existence in a 'homogeneous' and 'non-dynamic' way throughout a period of time leading up to  $PR_1$ . Hence there is semantically little to choose and little to gain in this specific context (perfect tense forms of - variable - state predicates) in relation to the two forms under consideration (SF vs. EF). Hockett's (1958) characterization of 'aspect' in terms of "temporal contour" comes to mind here.

The only circumstance which may induce a speaker to select the EF of the present perfect tense is, at least for some native speakers of E (including apparently Leech, cf. Leech 1969:154), to express the

notion of 'recency' (relative to  $PR_1$ ):

- (7.47) Mary has been staying in the cottage ever since her husband left her ( $\supset$  'her husband left her recently').

We saw above that with variable state propositions a 'secondary' function of the EF, namely 'limited duration'<sup>1</sup> comes into force. This has the effect that the period of time denoted by the adverbial of relative duration is seen (by some speakers) as comparatively 'short', such that the specific starting point of the period named by the point tensor (since ...) is understood, by further implication, to be located relatively recent to the moment of speaking.

This also goes to show that the notion of 'duration' (cf. Palmer 1965) is not a very sound one to capture the function of the EF. With state propositions the selection of the EF has the inverse effect of assigning the interpretation of 'limited duration' to a situation.

Sentences containing 'extensive' state predicates in simple or expanded perfect tense forms are again potentially ambiguous as to the 'continuative' or 'resultative' reading. The latter is the case in a context which tells how a woman left her husband:

- (7.48) You miss a woman when she's been living with you in the same house for six years (LDR:73).

Wenn eine Frau sechs Jahre mit einem im selben Haus gelebt hat, dann fehlt sie einem.

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1. This idea is also present with event propositions having the predicate in the EF, as any situation observed or conceptualized as being in progress must be 'limited in duration' (the latter is a consequence of the former). Any situation which is observed or regarded as 'ongoing' presupposes, however, the predication of a variable property. Utterances having a 'generic' or 'unrestricted state' interpretation cannot refer to situations 'in progress'.



The next two utterances are understood 'continuatively':

- (7.49) We have been living here for five years - he hasn't even seen this place (CSB:38).

Wir wohnen jetzt fünf Jahre hier ...

- (7.50) You have been living 63 years, why don't you learn to cook? (H:16).

Du bist jetzt 63 Jahre auf der Welt.

5.5.3.2 According to the results of the interpretation test most students are 'aware' of the SF - EF opposition with these predicates in expressing a 'permanent' vs. a 'temporary' state (see Table 42, item 4c). In the 'more productive' FCS - test, however, the percentage of incorrectly selected SFs increases significantly, despite the presence of adverbials which clearly mark the state situation as a 'transient' one (cf. items 1 and 2). When a more 'permanent' state is referred to as in item 3 (note that there is no accompanying adverbial), the uncertainty as regards the choice of the appropriate form (here: SF) grows even more, and the scores suggest again a 'random choice' (50 : 50): Table 42.

The most salient feature of the students' reactions to sentences containing extensive state predicates in present perfect tense forms (see Table 43) is the 'resultative' interpretation of these sentences by a significant majority of the group, regardless of whether the SF or EF is employed (cf. 1b and 2a). This is even more surprising, as the pedagogic grammar used in these forms (Klett: Grundzüge; see § 6.1) states very clearly that the EF of the perfect tense is "always correct" with states of affairs which lead up to the moment of speaking (= 'continuative'). Once again we can make the point that the students' interpretation of certain utterances is not

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object			
1	I ___ in a Bed & Breakfast place for the time being	stay am staying	17 25	22½ 13		
2	'So I can't find you at your parents' address any more?' - 'No, at present I ___ with an old aunt of mine'.	am staying stay	27 15	9 16½		
3	There are many important capitals in the world. Many people ___ there, and there are many factories. But the attractions of a capital are not only the sights.	are living live	21 21	14½ 11		
Test sentences: CI - N = 42			Yes No ? -			
4	Vergleiche: 'Paul lives in Berlin' und 'Paul is living in Berlin'. a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt: b) Durch 'Paul is living in Berlin' wird ein längerer Zeitraum als durch 'Paul lives in Berlin' bezeichnet. c) Durch 'Paul lives in Berlin' wird ausgedrückt, dass er immer in Berlin wohnt, während 'Paul is living in Berlin' die Tatsache bezeichnet, dass er nur kurzzeitig in Berlin wohnt.		4 5 33	36 34 7	0 2 1	2 1 1

Table 42: Extensive state predicates:  
'permanence' vs. 'transience'

identical with the one presented in scholarly or pedagogic grammars. The 'resultative' reading is probably due to the influence of the  $L_1$  (in G the perfect is a past tense proper). For some students, (probably those who reject the 'resultative' reading of sentence 2), there is an incompatibility between the 'continuative' interpretation of an expanded present perfect tense form and a durational for - adverbial, which is conceptualized as an 'absolute' adverbial (= 'period not leading up to now'): cf. items 2c/d. This is confirmed by the selection scores for item 4: about 25 per cent of the group select - incorrectly - the conjunction since (= point tensor) with a period of time. As with other occurrences of the EF of have + en, 'recency' plays a significant part in many learners' conceptualization of what this specific form 'denotes' (cf. 3e). A smaller percentage of

No	Test sentences: CI - N = 42	Yes	No	?	-
1	John has lived in London for 5 years. a) John lebt im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch in London. b) John lebt im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr in London.	10	24	6	2
2	John has been living in London for 5 years. a) John lebt im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr in London. b) John lebt im Augenblick des Sprechens immer noch in London. c) <u>for</u> kann hier mit dem Continuous Present Perfect benutzt werden. d) <u>for</u> darf hier nicht benutzt werden, da das Continuous Present Perfect einen noch andauernden Zustand bezeichnet, während <u>for</u> - Adverbien einen abgeschlossenen Zeitraum bezeichnen. Es muss deshalb <u>since</u> stehen.	25	12	4	1
		11	25	5	1
		28	9	1	4
		10	29	1	2
3	Vergleiche: 'John has lived in London for 5 years' und 'John has been living in London for 5 years'. a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt: b) 'John has lived in London for 5 years' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'John has been living in London for 5 years'. c) 'John has been living in London for 5 years' ist umgangssprachlich natürlicher als 'John has lived in London for 5 years'. d) Durch 'John has lived in London for 5 years' wird ausgedrückt, dass der Zeitraum von 5 Jahren gerade abgeschlossen ist, während John bei 'John has been living in London for 5 years' schon lange nicht mehr in London lebt. e) Durch 'John has lived in London for five years' wird ausgedrückt, dass er vor langer Zeit in London gewohnt hat, während bei 'John has been living in London for 5 years' der Zeitraum gerade abgeschlossen ist.	4	37	0	1
		9	29	2	2
		1	37	2	2
		14	26	2	0
		23	17	1	1
	Test sentence: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object	
4	David has been living in London __ 10 years	since for	12 30	16 14½	
	Test sentence: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI Σ	
5	John lebt schon seit 10 Jahren in London. a) John has lived in London since 10 years. b) John is living in London since 10 years. c) John lives in London since 10 years. d) John is living in London for 10 years. e) John has lived in London for 10 years now.	* * * * +	41 10 25 26 28 23 29 22 35 16	3 172 19 122 14 136 17 125 8 158	

Table 43: Extensive state predicates & have + en

students consider this form a 'less idiomatic' way of encoding this kind of situation (cf. 3b with 3c). 'Continuative' perfects are again rejected by the majority of students in favour of unacceptable structures resembling more closely the form of their  $L_1$ : cf. 5e vs 5 b/c.

We conclude that the appropriate interpretation of sentences/utterances containing extensive state predicates in perfect tense forms is not yet available to most of these learners.

#### 5.5.4 'Verbs of bodily sensation':

Either form is acceptable to native speakers in the following utterances from the learners' CC:

(7.51) But I think she  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was feeling} \\ \text{felt} \end{array} \right\}$  better then, she was good for something else (DS/FE, Woman).

(7.52) But as Huck  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is feeling} \\ \text{feels} \end{array} \right\}$  so downhearted because of the new life Tom brings it in order again so that Huck is allowed ( $\Rightarrow$  Tom arranges it for Huck to be allowed) more freedom outdoors (NS/GE, Sawyer).

State propositions involving predicates like feel (internal sensation), ache, hurt, itch, tickle, etc. are said to have no difference in 'meaning', regardless of whether the SF or EF is selected (cf. Leech 1971:22). However, if the 'transitory' nature of having a bodily sensation at a particular PR is to be denoted the EF would seem to be the 'preferred' form. The corpus used for this study contains no utterance where the SF is selected in these contexts.

(7.53) Some other time. I'm not feeling so good (CSB:46).  
Mir geht's nicht besonders.

(7.54) If ever you are feeling hungry come down and see me (LDR:56).

Wenn ihr irgendwann mal gerade Hunger habt ...

(7.55) ... but as I was feeling jubilant with the snow-clearing (H:33).

... aber da ich noch in ganz grosser Stimmung vom Schneeschippen war ...

(7.56) I feel/am feeling hungry/thirsty.

Mir ist nach was zu essen/trinken.

(7.57) I feel/am feeling cold. - Mir ist kalt.

(7.58) My back aches/is aching. - Mir tut der Rücken weh.

The inherently transient nature of most of the situations denoted by sentences (7.51) - (7.58) probably explains the fact that SF and EF occur almost in free variation in these sentences denoting the 'actuality' of the sensation. If, however, the non-actuality, ie, the repeated occurrence of the situation, is to be denoted the SF is the form to be employed, as in My back aches often. This also explains why the SF, contrary to the EF, of the present perfect tense is a 'bit' odd' with these predicates and durational adverbials denoting a period of time which is regarded as 'short' by the speaker (in terms of 'personal', not 'public time', cf. Bull 1960:4f):

(7.59) ? My back has ached for a few hours.

(7.60) My back has been aching for a few hours.

This may also be related to the pragmatic 'fact' that while aches may come and go (= 'transient'), they usually do so over a 'longish' period of time (= 'repeated occurrence'). If the adverbial names a more extended stretch of time the SF is more readily accepted:

(7.61) My back has ached for years/for as long as I can remember.

With the appropriate adverbial the 'recency' - factor can come into force:

(7.62) My back has been aching ever since I left the hospital  
( > 'I left the hospital recently').



### 5.5.5 'Verbs of posture'

5.5.5.1 Variable and non-variable properties: Within the group of variable state situations (which are frequently 'controllable' states for human participants, eg, live in London, lie on the grass, etc) we can distinguish a class of situations which have their linguistic encoding in sentences containing 'verbs of posture'. These predicates/sentences denote an object as 'being stationary', or perhaps better as 'being in a certain posture in a certain location/position'.<sup>1</sup> This is meant to separate the Locative element associated with predicates like sit, stand, lie, hang, crouch, squat, huddle, occupy, etc. (= be + Locative case element) from the posture element. The two invariable properties which any concrete object (thing or person) has are location/position and posture.

(7.63) John is lying/standing in the corner.

(= 'John is in a(n)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{prone} \} \\ \{ \text{supine} \} \\ \{ \text{upright} \} \end{array} \right\}$  posture in a particular location').

If we isolate be in the posture of — in the location X as the periphrastic realization of these two invariable properties, we can (probably) explain why the copula be cannot stand in the EF, since this would be incompatible with the presupposition of variability attached to the use of the EF:

(7.64) \* John is being in the posture of lying/standing in the corner.<sup>2</sup>

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1. We are not dealing here with the agentive interpretations of these predicates in sentences like: He stood on the table (= 'He got up on the table'). They denote accomplishment situations (=causative reflexives).

2. In § 5.3.4.4 we noted the unacceptability of:

(5.216) \* I am being in Edinburgh

Maybe E always requires a quasi-adverbial modification of the idea of 'being located somewhere' (contrary to Spanish ser and estar which operates in cases like (5.222) too; cf: I am living/staying in Edinburgh).

Variable properties, on the other hand, are the 'quasi-adverbial modification' of the invariable posture-element and the particular kind of locative adverbial selected as the realization of the invariable location-element (for a similar treatment, cf. Schopf 1969:40). Every tangible object must be in a certain location in space, and it cannot, in general, occupy more than one posture at a specific PR (standing and leaning, eg, are compatible). A person is either sitting, standing or lying, etc, a picture is hanging or lying somewhere. The invariable component of be in the posture of together with the independent (variable) semantic components of the 'quasi-adverbial modification' of the posture-element make up the denotation of the individual lexemes. We may note that the EF is obligatory with sentences containing 'verbs of posture' if the reference is to 'actual present' (as with activity situations), ie, existence of the state in question at (and probably around) PR<sub>1</sub>:

(7.65) Keith D. has written scripts for both Z-Cars and Softly, Softly, and he is sitting with me here now (BBC).

(7.66) A: 'Hurry up, it's getting late'. - B: 'I can't find my blue socks'. - A: 'Look! They are lying under the chair, over there, in the corner'.

It is easily seen that sit here and lie under the chair are variable predicates of the subject arguments Keith D. and my blue socks respectively. The reasons for this are twofold:

- i) If state situations related to the location and posture of an object are said to be in existence at a specific PR (= 'actuality'), then these situations must exist in temporal succession, provided they involve the same referent of the subject NP. This is, as Schopf (1969:34) points out, a consequence of the specific internal

structure of the lexical field formed by the 'verbs of posture'. In our terminology: since we cannot, in general, predicate several properties of location and posture for a certain subject referent simultaneously, the situations which are denoted by sentences containing 'verbs of posture' can only be in existence for a limited period of time.

- ii) The subject NPs in (7.65) and (7.66) refer to the kind of 'object' for which predicates like sit here and lie under the chair can be variable ones. A subject NP like London, on the other hand, cannot be followed by a predicate in the EF like lying on the Thames, because this would violate the presupposition associated with the use of the EF, namely that the predicate in the EF stands for a variable property of the thing or person referred to by the subject NP:<sup>1</sup>

(7.67) \* London is lying on the Thames.

(7.68) London lies on the Thames.

(7.69) Beneath the earth lies some million cubic miles more in the form of ground water (W:9).

We can make once again the general point that the notion of 'variable property' is a matter of the situation as denoted by the whole sentence.

The incompatibility of the EF with the predication of an invariable property is particularly obvious if the subject NP refers

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1. Cf. the comparable characterization by van der Laan (1922:103) in terms of 'permanent' vs. 'transient states', Allen's (1966: 223) 'suffusive' and 'profusive predications', or the distinction between 'essence' and 'accidence' as drawn by Bolinger (1971, 1972) and Dowty (1972:76).

to a 'non-moveable' object:<sup>1</sup>

(7.72) Edinburgh Castle  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{stands} \\ * \text{ is standing} \end{array} \right\}$  on an enormous rock.

The situations denoted by (7.68), (7.69), and (7.72) are regarded as 'permanent' or 'non-variable' states, as spreading out in a 'homogeneous' way (= unbounded situation) without regard to their beginnings and endings, whereas the situations named by (7.65) and (7.66) are understood as 'transient' or 'variable' states, which are limited in duration. However, the variable states are unbounded situations too (ie, 'homogeneous', without having the idea of a 'goal' associated with them). 'Limited duration' and 'boundedness' of a situation are two entirely different things. Just as not much money denotes a limited quantity of the substance 'money', it is nevertheless an unbounded nominal. This also explains why we can talk in the case of an activity proposition like Paul has run for two hours of an unbounded situation, although the activity is seen as temporally limited (in duration) because of the presence of the corresponding adverbial. The 'non-moveability' of an object may be a matter of pragmatic presupposition. Thus we normally expect with an object like a statue:

(7.73) A statue of Cromwell  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{stands} \\ * \text{ is standing} \end{array} \right\}$  next to the entrance to the House of Commons.

1. Notice that lean can denote both 'stand out of the perpendicular' and 'be supported by a fixed point', for which there are different lexicalizations in G:

(7.70) The walls in my flat  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lean} \\ * \text{ are leaning} \end{array} \right\}$  two inches from the perpendicular.

Die Wände in meiner Wohnung neigen um 5cm vom Lot ab.

(7.71) I was leaning on my gate in the backyard smoking a pipe (LDR:74)  
Ich lehnte an der Tür im Hof und rauchte meine Pfeife.

There are further 'problems' with lean, because it does not involve change of location (a person can 'sit' or 'stand' and 'lean'). It is a gradable posture.

The same lexeme may be used to refer to a moveable object in the context of stage directions for the theatre (or because someone has moved it):

(7.74) A statue of Cromwell  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is standing} \\ \text{stands} \end{array} \right\}$  in the far left corner.

If the predicated property of the 'non-moveable' subject referent is seen by the speaker as a variable one he can select the EF:

(7.75) A: 'Have your heard of the demolition plans for Thistle Street?' B: 'Well, the walls in my flat are leaning over four inches from the perpendicular. Last year it was only two'.

The over-generalization of the use of the EF with 'verbs of posture' in the case of 'actuality' to contexts which refer to 'permanent' states and therefore require the selection of the SF was identified in § 3.4.5 as a major source of error in the students' written production. The learners' tendency towards 'over-compensation' in this context is confirmed by the analysis of the EPs. About a quarter of the group select or accept the EF where the reference is to 'permanent' states (see Table 44).

In the learners' CC we find utterances in which the co-occurrence of 'verbs of posture' in the simple preterite tense form and durational adverbials (see § 5.3.2.5) is felt to be rather odd by native speakers:

(7.76) ? I know that you have not written a letter, since I sat opposite you all morning (NS/GE, Holmes).

(7.76a) ... since I have been sitting opposite you all morning.

Leech (1971:45) states that there is a tendency in colloquial E to avoid the SF of the present perfect tense (= "less idiomatic") and rather use the EF in these contexts. This is the case where the situation referred to in these utterances is regarded by the speaker



No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	Today the mother works too. She must help to bring money home. In some families the father ___ over the stove. He could be as good a cook as the mother.	stands is standing	32 10	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 21 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	Three parties ___ in the chamber of the House of Commons. The Government ___ in front of the Speaker's chair. A clock ___ on the wall above the Speaker's chair...	are sitting sit sit are sitting is hanging hangs	16 26 32 10 12 30	all V <sup>st</sup> in EF: 15 in SF: 12
	Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI $\Sigma$
3	London liegt an der Themse. a) London is at the Thames. b) London lies on the Thames. c) London is lying at the Thames. d) London lies at the Thames. e) London is lying on the Thames.	* + * * *	43 8 33 18 30 21 22 29 35 16	4 172 8 153 14 140 22 119 11 166

Table 44: 'Verbs of posture': permanent states

as a variable one:

(7.77) {John  
The armchair} has been standing in the corner for 15 minutes.

(7.78) ? {John  
The armchair} has stood in the corner for 15 minutes.

(7.79) ?? {A man  
An armchair} has stood in the corner for 15 minutes.

If the situation referred to is seen by the speaker as non-variable, then it seems more usual to select the SF of the present perfect tense (although the EF is possible too):

(7.80) {Edinburgh Castle} {has stood  
A castle} {has been standing} on this rock for 800 years.

The majority of students interpret sentences like (7.77) and (7.78) as 'resultative', ie, the 'moveable' subject is not any more at the specified place of location (see Table 45, items 1b and 2b). Contrary to all occurrences of have + en discussed so far in § 5, a larger part of the group (about 60 per cent) consider the perfect forms in (7.80) 'continuative' ones (see items 3a and 4a). The subject NP here refers to a 'non-moveable' object:

No	Test sentences: CI - N = 42	Yes	No	?	-
1	The armchair has stood in the corner for 15 minutes. a) Der Sessel steht im Augenblick des Sprechens noch in der Ecke. b) Der Sessel steht im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr in der Ecke.	7	32	2	1
2	The armchair has been standing in the corner for 15 minutes. a) Der Sessel steht im Augenblick des Sprechens noch in der Ecke. b) Der Sessel steht im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr in der Ecke.	32	8	1	1
3	The castle has stood on this massive rock for 800 years. a) Die Burg steht im Augenblick des Sprechens noch auf dem Felsen. b) Die Burg steht im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr auf dem Felsen.	7	30	4	1
4	The castle has been standing on this massive rock for 800 years. a) Die Burg steht im Augenblick des Sprechens noch auf dem Felsen. b) Die Burg steht im Augenblick des Sprechens nicht mehr auf dem Felsen.	30	9	2	1
		25	14	2	1
		13	26	2	1
		24	14	3	1
		13	24	4	1

Table 45: 'Verbs of posture' & have + en

5.5.5.2 Existential there: Without giving an explanation Dowty observes (1972:78):

"Even in normal contexts, there are surprising subtleties.

In isolation: [7.81] \* The two oak-trees were standing in the middle of the forest is unacceptable to me. But compare it with: [7.82] After the forest fire, only two oak-trees were still standing".

First of all, the attempt to account for the unacceptability of (7.81) primarily in terms of the SF - EF opposition is rather a misguided one. Sentences like (7.81) do not denote merely the location (and posture) of a particular object but assert the existence of this object (= 'existential clauses': cf. Lyons 1968: 390, Anderson 1971:107ff). Regardless of the EF, sentences with this kind of 'marked theme' (cf. Halliday 1967:212ff) are always

'odd' in E locative and existential clauses:

(7.83) ?  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{An oak-tree is/stands} \\ \text{Two oak-trees are/stand} \end{array} \right\}$  in the middle of the forest.

The usual way of predicating the existence of an object is the

there - construction (see § 3.4.5 on learners' errors):

(7.81a) There were two oak-trees (standing) in the middle  
of the forest.

We can make two comments:

- i) The use of the unstressed existential there (as opposed to the deictic and stressed adverb there) would seem to imply that the objects referred to in (7.81a) are "non-uniquely specified" (Halliday 1968:238); ie, the speaker will utter (7.81a) if he wants to express something like: 'There are indeed two oak-trees in the middle of the forest but there are (possibly) others'.
- ii) The there - construction allows the retention of the 'unique' there is/are - formula, which to many linguists (cf. Bach 1968, Allan 1971) is the language - specific surface realization of the 'existential operator' ( $\exists x$ ) in E (cf. es gibt in G).

(7.82), on the other hand, specifies a definite point (or period) of time (after the forest fire) to which the situation is related. The situation denoted by (7.82) is a variable one, which is overtly marked by the adverb still (it presupposes existence). (7.82) presupposes a preceding state of affairs in which more than two trees had been standing. Apart from two they are not standing any more, the forest fire being the particular point of reference at which the change of situations came about. Cf. also:

(7.84) You write here in your letter that the Palladium has disappeared, a place that enshrines some of my deepest feelings. Is the ice-rink still standing? (BBC).

The students' performance on (7.81) and (7.82) in the E & P - test does not suggest that they are 'aware' of the principles explicated above. There is no clear acceptance or rejection of any of the 'alternative' presented to them as 'translation equivalents' (see Table 46):

No	Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
			*	+	RI	Σ
1	In der Mitte des Waldes standen 2 Eichenbäume.					
	a) In the middle of the forest were standing 2 oak trees.	*	24	27	19	129
	b) In the middle of the forest there were standing 2 oak trees.	*	30	21	11	149
	c) In the middle of the forest there were 2 oak trees.	+	31	20	4	156
	d) In the middle of the forest stood 2 oak trees.	*	24	27	18	124
	e) In the middle of the forest 2 oak trees were standing.	*	31	20	8	159
2	Nach dem Waldbrand standen nur noch 2 Eichenbäume.					
	a) After the forest fire there stood only 2 oak trees.	*	23	28	19	118
	b) After the forest fire were only still standing 2 oak trees.	*	38	13	3	162
	c) After the forest fire only stood 2 oak trees.	*	38	13	6	160
	d) After the forest fire only 2 oak trees were still standing.	+	25	26	18	120
	e) After the forest fire there were standing only 2 oak trees.	*	29	22	8	132

Table 46: Existential there

5.5.5.3 Copying with have: Apart from the there - insertion there is another copying device for existential - locative sentences, namely the one involving have:

(7.85) The mantelpiece has a vase (standing) on it.

The copula have cannot take the EF in state propositions of this sort:

(7.86) \* The mantelpiece is having a vase (standing) on it.

If locative sentences involving have - copying have a non-stative reading (= accomplishment predicates) expansion is possible:

(7.87) {stative:       \*}  
      {non-stative: }

The bed is having a Paisley cloth put over it

(7.88) The Forth is having a bridge built over it.

There is a bridge being built across the Forth.

#### 5.5.6 'Verbs of perception'

The problem with 'verbs of perception' is that they are homonymous and that the various homonyms have different properties in relation to SF and EF. For the five senses, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, visual and auditory, we can distinguish basically three lexical classes with distinct meanings (cf. Palmer 1965:99). The degree to which the members of these classes are lexicalized 'independently' varies in E and G:

- i) the agentive meaning,
- ii) the stative meaning of having the quality of 'emitting' or producing the sensation,
- iii) the stative meaning of having the sensation.

5.5.6.1 The agentive meaning: Propositions containing a 'verb of perception' in its agentive meaning involve an underlying DO in Dowty's sense (see § 4.5.1), ie, intention or 'seeking' (cf. Quirk 1970:119) on the part of the animate agent. They pass the tests for agentivity (see § 5.1.7); eg:

(7.89) Iona listened to the Cream for five minutes but I did so for one hour.

(7.90) He tasted the wine to see if it was not too dry.



Like any other activity proposition they require the EF if the reference is to the ongoingness of the agentive process at  $PR_1$  (= 'actual present'):

- (7.91) I am smelling the roses. - Ich rieche an den Rosen.  
(7.92) The guest is tasting the wine. - Der Gast kostet den Wein.  
(7.93) The customer is feeling the cloth. - Der Kunde befühlt den Stoff.<sup>1</sup>  
(7.94) Ian is looking at the picture. - Ian sieht sich das Bild an.  
(7.95) Ian is listening to the music. - Ian hört der Musik zu.

5.5.6.2 The stative meaning of having the quality of emitting or producing the sensation:

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The 'verbs of perception' are used intransitively here, and the grammatical subject is the 'goal' of the perception. The quality of the inanimate or animate object to create a certain sensation is generally held to be an invariable property of the said object. Hence the tendency to favour the SF in state propositions of this sort:

- (7.97) I would buy neither a car nor a motor cycle. At this time I have a bicycle and I am feeling the bad sides of a car or a motor cycle. \*Both are stinking and sometimes they are dangerous (DS/FE, Car).  
(7.97a) ... Both stink/smell ...

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1. Or tasten in G:

(7.96) John is feeling the wall for a hole. -  
John tastet die Wand nach einem Loch ab.

Again there seems to be widespread uncertainty as regards the use of either SF or EF in this context: having given back (7.97) to the learners (FCS - test), the selection and objection scores for the SF are 22 and  $13\frac{1}{2}$  respectively, the ones for the EF 20 and 17. Notice also the following interference-based errors which require main verbs (and not be) as predicates in denoting the quality of emitting a sensation:

(7.98) \* When the music is happy then I become happy, and  
when the music is sad then I become sad (DS/FE, Hobby).

(7.98a) When the music expresses happiness I become happy,  
and when the music sounds sad I become sad.

The subsequent contrastive observations (7.99) - (7.103) are based partly on Bald (1973):

olfactory (7.99):

This pineapple smells lovely/nasty. - Diese Ananas riecht herrlich/  
entsetzlich.

The tulips smell like roses. - Die Tulpen riechen wie Rosen.

The stew smells of paraffin. - Der Eintopf riecht nach Petroleum.

gustatory (7.100):

Your onion soup tastes good/awful. - Deine Zwiebelsuppe schmeckt gut/  
schrecklich.

This meat tastes like cardboard. - Dieses Fleisch schmeckt wie Pappe.

This soup tastes of vinegar. - Diese Suppe schmeckt nach Essig.

tactile (7.101):

This material feels soft. - Das Material fühlt sich weich an.

The water/radiator feels hot. - Das Wasser/der Heizkörper fühlt sich  
heiss an.

This material feels like velvet. - Dieses Material fühlt sich wie Samt an.

\* This material feels of velvet. - \* Dieses Material fühlt sich nach  
Samt an.

auditory (7.102):

The music sounds nice/horrible. - Die Musik klingt nett/schrecklich.

This poem sounds like music. - Dieses Gedicht klingt wie Musik.

\* This music sounds of Elgar. - Diese Musik klingt nach Elgar.

but: { This music sounds like Elgar.  
This music is reminiscent of Elgar. }

Cf. also: This sounds like Paul's voice.

visual (7.103):

Your dress looks lovely/awful. - Dein Kleid sieht hübsch/entsetzlich aus.

Their house looks like a barn. - Ihr Haus sieht wie eine Scheune aus.

\* This picture looks of (a) Picasso. - Dieses Bild sieht nach (einem)  
Picasso aus.

but: { This picture looks like a Picasso.  
This picture is reminiscent of Picasso('s work). }

We can make the following points:

- i) the same lexical item is used in both E and G in these contexts,
- ii) in both E and G the five 'verbs of perceptions' take complements with like in state propositions related to the quality of producing a sensation: "making an impression on the sense as the substance itself denoted by the complement", or: 'according to its taste it could be NP' (Bald 1973:53f),
- iii) in both E and G feel/fühlen does not allow the of-complement; E permits it only for the olfactory and gustatory sense, whereas G takes nach also for the auditory and visual sense. The E translation equivalents then spell out the 'meaning' of the of-complement, namely 'be reminiscent of NP', or 'perceive a resemblance between'.

Let us assume that someone is invited by Indian friends and eats chutney for the first time ever. He will then probably not say (see

§ 5.3.4.2, (5.193) and (5.194)):

(7.104)? This chutney is tasting awful.

Or similarly, on arriving in Dover for the first time the American tourist will probably not utter:

(7.105)? Dover Castle is looking beautiful.

The EF is inappropriate here since the speaker of these utterances can have no presupposition as regards the potential variability of the respective predicate in relation to the referent of the grammatical subject. If the predicate is seen as a variable property of the subject, which normally presupposes the possibility of a comparison, the EF becomes possible. This requires, in general, the presence of appropriate adverbials. Thus a resident in Edinburgh might say:

(7.106) The Castle is looking beautiful in this mist tonight.

However, we are not likely to hear:

(7.107)? The  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Venus de Milo} \\ \text{Mona Lisa} \end{array} \right\}$  is looking beautiful (tonight).

We probably have a pragmatic presupposition about unique entities like the Mona Lisa etc. (contrary to, eg, castles) as possessing some 'inherent quality of beauty', in addition to the conceptualization of this 'beauty' as an invariable property of these entities. They are, as it were, 'non-moveable objects' which are not subject to change as regards external conditions (they stand, eg, in the same place with the same lighting conditions, etc).

Similar to (7.106) we get:

(7.108) The roses are smelling lovely this year.

(7.109) The stew is tasting awful again.

(7.110) Mr Lowther is looking thin these days (JB:86).

Mr L. ist in letzter Zeit dünner geworden.

(7.111) The violins are sounding just awful tonight.

However, feel is generally not accepted in the EF with inanimate subjects:

(7.112)\* The water/radiator is feeling hot again.

Das Wasser/der Heizkörper fühlt sich wieder heiss an.

(7.112a) The radiator feels hot again.

With animate subjects feel denotes something different (cf. G sich fühlen), it is a 'verb of bodily sensation' (see § 5.5.4):

(7.113) I feel/am feeling ill.

Ich fühle mich krank.

Notice also that only N smells/riecht is possible as an independent utterance referring to the quality of 'emitting' a sensation (N sounds means something different, see below (7.120)). The unmarked structure N smells/riecht names 'unpleasantness' (cf. Quirk 1970:121), whereas 'pleasantness' has to be marked adverbially (N smells good, etc):

(7.114) The drains smell. - Der Abfluss riecht.

(7.115) The meat smells. - Das Fleisch riecht.

The converse would seem to hold with state propositions involving the gustatory sense, at least in G (= 'pleasant sensation'):

(7.116) Die Suppe schmeckt.

(7.117) Die Apfelsine schmeckt.

E requires the adverbial modification of 'pleasantness' or 'unpleasantness' with taste: The soup tastes good/awful (vs.: \*The soup tastes). Similarly we do not get N feels/looks:

(7.118)\* This material feels. - \* Dieses Material fühlt sich an.

(7.119)\* The slip looks. - (\*) Der Unterrock sieht aus.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Possible as an elliptical utterance referring to the untidy appearance of N.



The structures N shows/sounds denote a different situation, which is clearly indicated in the G translation:

(7.120) The gong/the trumpets is/are sounding.

Der Gong/die Trompeten ertönt/ertönen (= 'ist/sind zu hören').

(7.121) Your slip is showing.

Dein Unterrock guckt vor (= 'ist zu sehen').

(7.122) I'm sorry to bother you. One of your lights is showing (HM:128).

Man sieht Ihr Licht von draussen.

The EF is necessary if the reference is to the 'actual present' (as opposed to the 'habitual' reading of Her slip (always) shows). Only a limited number of nouns seem to enter the structure N is sounding: one does not generally utter The music is sounding. This utterance becomes, however, possible in the context of a TV commentator reporting on, eg, a royal wedding (cf. the G verbs denoting particularly the inception of a process: ertönen, erschallen, aufbrausen). The predicates sound and show involve a causative relationship, ie, 'cause to be audible' and 'cause to be visible' respectively. This is not the case with the other structures: '\* cause to be smellable/tastable/feelable'.<sup>1</sup> Conceptually, the fact that a gong sounds presupposes that someone caused it to sound. Notice that, of course, a falling stone could have made the gong sound but sentences with an inanimate agent (= Source case element in Fillmore's system) are, pragmatically,

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1. This may have to do with the fact that the situations denoted by (7.120) - (7.122) are overtly observable or perceivable by the speaker in a way, namely at a distance, that those named by N smells/tastes/feels soft are not. They require a 'more direct physical contact' with the object which creates the sensation and an overt statement on the part of the speaker or someone else that the said situation is the case.

hard to accept:

(7.123) ? The gong was sounded by a draught/by the wind.

Vice versa, the act of sounding a gong (where the verb is used transitively, ie, as a causative) implies that the gong will sound:

(7.124) David sounded the gong. - David liess den Gong ertönen.

Similar considerations are valid for show, the intransitive and transitive use of which is differentiated in G by means of vorgucken vs. zeigen.

5.5.6.3 The stative meaning of having the sensation: The 'verbs of perception' are used transitively here. Vendler (1967:115) observes that see (but also hear and feel) can have both the instantaneous bordercrossing meaning of spot or catch the sight of, which would explain that one can say I have seen it as soon as one can say I see it, and the (durative) state meaning as in (7.125); note the different lexicalizations of the two instances of see in the G translation:

(7.125) Now we were seeing these adverts in private at home.

We used to ..., but suddenly we saw their real value (LDR:19).

Weil wir jetzt alles für uns zu Hause sahn ... Aber auf einmal erkannten wir ihren richtigen Wert.

Only the stative see is equivalent to can/could see, which is actually more common than the non-modalized verb in denoting the 'actuality' of the perception (cf. Palmer 1965:118). G learners of E tend to omit the modal (numerous examples), as the corresponding G verb is used without the modal:

(7.126) On your desk I see (⇒I can see) stamps and postcards (NS/GE, Holmes).

According to Potts (1965:72) Aristotle draws a distinction with

perceive between the 'ability' and the 'exercise of the ability', the former meaning being apparent in:

(7.127) I can't see at night. - Ich bin nachtblind.

In neither meaning can the situations denoted by these sentences containing see be considered a process or an activity. Neither can we see at night or John coming round the corner 'reluctantly' or 'carefully', nor can we be persuaded to do so, etc. If a modalized 'verb of perception' is negated this would seem to imply a challenge to the 'perceivability' of the object (cf. Quirk 1970:122 on smell):

(7.128) I can't taste/smell/feel x (in y).

Activity predicates in this context do not question the 'performability' of the action in a like fashion:

(7.129) I can't drive a car/ride a horse/speak Chinese.

State propositions involving 'verbs of inert perception' generally favour the SF, even if the reference is to the 'actuality' of having a certain sensation, the modal can being an optional though frequent co-occurrent element.

(7.130) I (can) hear s.o. whistle. - Ich höre jemand pfeifen.

(7.131) I (can) feel s.th. hard in this bag. - Ich fühle etwas Hartes in der Tasche.

(7.132) I (can) smell perfume somewhere. - Ich rieche irgendwo Parfüm.

(7.133) I (can) taste mustard in this stew. - Ich schmecke Senf in dem Eintopf.

In most types of discourse the EF is not acceptable here; eg:

(7.134) \* I am hearing s.o. whistle.

Pedagogic grammars either state categorically that the EF is never used with 'verbs of perception' (see § 6.1, Hornby 1962:89), or they qualify it by "not normally" (cf. Thomson & Martinet 1960:117), or they list examples where they do occur in the EF without giving an

adequate explanation. Most of the latter instances involve a modification of the denotation of the predicate (cf. the examples in Poutsma 1926:341, Kruisinga & Erades 1953:259, Hornby 1962:114f): seeing sights (= 'visit'), hearing lectures (= 'attend'), seeing a person (= 'meet/receive s.o.'), hearing a case (= 'try a case'), hear from s.o. (= 'receive a message from s.o.'), seeing the results of a policy (= 'experience'), etc. More rigorous descriptions are not always correct either:

"I believe that this fact has to do with an incompatibility between the meaning of progressive and the nature of sensory perception ..., which is not conceived of as something that takes a certain amount of time for its accomplishment (Chafe 1970:145).

This only accounts for the bordercrossing meaning of these predicates. It does not explain why the EF is unacceptable in sentences like (7.134), where the denoted state situation is understood as lasting for some time. Palmer's opinion (1965:98) that the EF is possible when the emphasis is on 'duration' does not even explain his own examples:

(7.135) I am actually hearing his voice.

(7.136) He is seeing stars.

I find it impossible to see 'duration' operating here. (7.136) would seem to be a holophrase anyway.

Vendler (1967:118f) observes:

"When I am writing, I see the pencil all the time, otherwise I could not write the way I do write. Nevertheless I do not watch, observe, or scrutinize it; I might not look at it at all; I might even not notice its color. In the same way, when I am walking up and down in my room, absorbed in thoughts, I do

not pay any attention to the furniture around me, yet I see it most of the time; otherwise I would bounce against tables and chairs every so often".

I do not want to get too deeply involved in the psychological and philosophical puzzles of what it means not to have one's attention focused on something, but I think Vendler is right to assert that the 'having of sensations' functions most of the time as an almost 'unconscious' "discourse referent"<sup>1</sup> (this term is borrowed from Karttunen 1968:16). The point about perceptions as almost unconscious (or 'involuntary') discourse referents is that they do not exclude each other at a specific PR. The situations denoted by sentences containing these predicates can be in existence simultaneously for the same participant. For sentences (7.130) - (7.133) the discourse referents are the objects of the perception whose existence is being asserted, eg: 'there is s.th. hard in this bag', 'there is mustard in the stew', etc. (cf. Schopf 1969:33). The 'experiencer' (Chafe 1970) knows as a 'fact' that he perceives of these objects through a certain sensory medium. And usually he cannot 'prevent' the 'accomplishment' of the perception. As Bodelsen once expressed it (1964:115): "verbs of perception and thinking ... are normally used, not to denote an action, but to state a fact. In I heard a noise the centre of attention is not the activity displayed by the subject, but the result of that activity". Following Schopf (1969) we can therefore

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1. Cf. Karttunen (1968:16): "... discourse referents are not only entities the existence of which has been asserted in the discourse but also things that have been observed to exist. This entails that, even if nothing is said, the set of discourse referents in a given discourse is constantly changing along the spatial and temporal coordinates and the attention of the participants".



say, in other words, that the speaker may 'become conscious' of the objects of the perception and their 'variability' without 'being conscious' of the sensory process involved in the perception.

Let us imagine a commuter walking to the railway station every morning at ease: he will probably not notice the clocks of the towers and watchmakers he is passing. If he is, however, one morning under severe time pressure and also happens to have forgotten his watch he is likely to notice all those clocks (attention as a directed process) and to utter:

(7.137) By God, I'm seeing clocks everywhere today.<sup>1</sup>

This suggests that the process of visual perception itself has become the focus of the speaker's attention. The speaker is 'consciously' aware of the intensity of the perceptual process. Or imagine the situation of a psychological experiment with the tachistoscope where the speakers may say:

(7.138) Yes, I'm seeing it, now - no, not any more.

Or in a dialogue between two persons engaged in bird-watching:

(7.139) A: 'Can you see the dipper? Just coming up again for air'.

B: 'No. - Ah, I'm seeing it now'.

A: 'Well, there it is. We have seen our first dipper' (BBC).

The examples quoted in the literature (the largest collection being the one in Hatcher (1951) would seem to support this:

(7.140) I'm seeing it more clearly now: focus it just a little more to the left (Hatcher 1951:269).

(7.141) I'm hearing it better now: it's coming through more

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1. The speaker could also have used the unmarked form: I can see clocks everywhere today.

clearly all the time (Hatcher 1951:269).

(7.142) I'm tasting more and more salt in this soup  
(Hatcher 1951:269).

(7.143) Imagine: at last I'm seeing the Mona Lisa (Hatcher  
1951:271).

(7.144) You are hearing it correctly (Schopf 1969:38, uttered  
by a lecturer in an ear-training class).

The use of adverbials like now, today, at last, more and more indicates that the denoted situation is seen as variable. Schopf (1969:38f) also points out, quite correctly I think, that it is obviously a fact with our perceptual apparatus that we cannot see the same object in and out of focus simultaneously, or perceive a certain sound both 'correctly' and 'incorrectly'. It is probably also true psychologically that voluntary attention towards one of the five senses cannot be sustained for very long, and if this concentration is attained it cannot be kept up, in general, for more than one medium of perception. This is to say, in the case of increased awareness of a perceptual process itself (contrary to the situations denoted by (7.130) - (7.133), where the experiencer is not conscious of a particular process of perception and can 'have more than one sensation' at the same time) the same principle observed with state situations involving 'verbs of posture', namely that these situations can only be in existence in temporal succession, comes into operation. It seems safe to assert that utterances like (7.137) - (7.144) are usually only possible if the situations referred to are related to the very moment of utterance. I think Schopf makes another good observation in pointing out the significance of the manner - adverbials in utterances of this kind: more clearly, correctly:

"Die qualitative Modifikation des Verbinhalts also würde bei den Verben der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung seine 'Variabilität' konstituieren und damit die Voraussetzung für die Verwendung der erweiterten Form liefern" (Schopf 1969:38f).

Cf. also:

(7.145) She was seeing her to the utmost advantage (Poutsma 1926:341).

It is the 'qualitative modification' of having a certain sensation that constitutes the 'variability' in utterances of this kind. This is supported by the possibility of using wirklich in the G translation of some of the E utterances, eg:

(7.141) Ich höre es jetzt wirklich besser: ...

The EF of the present tense is also possible in utterances containing time-when adverbials which denote the state situation as being in existence throughout a period of time simultaneous with  $PR_1$  which, although not having defined temporal limits, is understood as implying a contrast to a larger stretch of time (these days, nowadays, etc.). The situation referred to has not always been like that:

(7.146) We are seeing a lot of repeats on television these days.

(7.147) They are now very familiar, due to a very popular TV series which we are seeing at the moment (BBC).

The proportion of students who select the EF of a 'verb of perception' in the FCS - test is surprisingly large (see Table 47, item 1), in view of the fact that the pedagogic grammar employed in the schools strictly rules out the use of the EF with these predicates. The objection scores to the EF are not very high. The preference for

the EF increases when there is an adverbial signal word present (cf. items 2 and 3). We can, however, doubt very strongly that the students are 'aware' of the semantic principle governing the possible selection of the EF in these utterances. The use of the EF is probably 'triggered off' by the presence of now serving as an almost automatic signal:

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object	
1	I __ perfume somewhere.	am smelling smell	18 24	14½ 10
2	Ferngespräch (Telefon): 'I __ it better now: it's coming through more clearly all the time'.	am hearing hear	25 17	14 14½
3	2 Freunde beobachten Wasservogel: A: 'Can you see the dipper? Just coming up for air'. - B: 'No ... Ah, I __ it now'. - A: 'Well, there it is. We have seen our first dipper'.	am seeing see	26 16	11½ 13½

Table 47: 'Verbs of perception': 'having a sensation'

Reference was already made in § 3.4.8 to a specific type of error with accomplishment predicates which are embedded into a matrix sentence containing a 'verb of perception':

- (7.148) Coleridge told him a story: \* Once he saw a postman coming ( $\Rightarrow$  come) to a cottage where a poor woman lived. The woman looked at the letter, then gave it back to the postman, because she couldn't pay it (NS/R, Post).

The goal implicit in the predicate of the embedded clause is understood as having been reached. Thus the present participle has to be replaced by the infinitive. In the next utterance the use of the present participle in the embedded clause would denote a gradual slowing down on the part of the postman. He has however arrived at the cottage, he is not walking any more, hence the necessity for the infinitival construction:

- (7.149) \* One day I saw a postman stopping ( $\Rightarrow$  stop) in front  
of a cottage. He brought a letter to a woman (NS/R, Post).

Similarly with accomplishment predicates like murder and tear a page; at the PR implied by the matrix predicate the resultant state is understood as having already come about (contextually derivable information). The use of the present participle is not appropriate:

- (7.150) \* One day Tom saw Becky tearing a page ( $\Rightarrow$  tear a page)  
of the book which belonged to the teacher (NS/GE, Sawyer).

We may note that G has a translation equivalent to the E present participle in denoting the ongoingness of the goal-directed activity/occurrence at the implied PR in the selection of the conjunction wie.

A dass-clause, on the other hand (just like the E infinitival construction), is actually ambiguous as to the accomplishment or non-accomplishment of the goal. Participial construction and wie-clause can never have the reading that the goal was reached at the respective PR:

- (7.151) We heard Mary coming/come downstairs.

Wir hörten, wie/dass Mary die Treppe herunterkam.

- (7.152) I could feel my blood rushing/rush into my face.

Ich fühlte, wie/dass das Blut mir ins Gesicht schoss.

The errors discussed so far suggest that the students tend to 'over-indulge' in the use of the participial construction, which would be another instance of 'over-compensation'. The results of the FCS-test confirm this hypothesis very clearly. Regardless of whether the context specifies a situation as having reached the goal implicit in the (embedded) predicate or not, the students very consistently select the ing-form, i.e., a structure typical of the TL. The corresponding objection scores to the infinitival construction are also relatively high (see Table 48). This particular type of error



No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	Zeit: 1850 - He told him the following story: 'I was taking a walk when I saw a postman ___ to the cottage of a poor woman. She could not pay for the letter. So I paid it myself ...'	go going	3 39	25½ 7½
2	Tom Sawyer - And here is the reason for their fear: they see Injun Joe ___ Dr Robinson. He tries everything to make everybody believe that Potter is the murderer.	killing kill	38 4	7 26
3	I could see Mary ___ St James' Park when a gang of adolescents turned up and started to insult and attack her right in the middle of the park.	crossing cross	38 4	6 27½
4	Last Sunday we went to the River Havel. James said he could cross the river in 30 minutes. So we all watched him ___ across the Havel. He seemed to manage all right. But suddenly he started to wave his arms and shout for help. We got into a boat and fished him out of the water.	swimming swim	36 6	8½ 23½

Table 48: 'Verbs of perception' & embedded accomplishment predicates

may have its ultimate source in the presentation offered in the pedagogic grammar used in the forms from which the subjects were taken (see § 6.1). It only gives examples with embedded participial constructions, almost all of which involve atelic activity predicates (see (7.153)). The different semantic implications with accomplishment predicates in relation to the two constructions are not pointed out. If the embedded clause contains an atelic activity predicate the difference between the two constructions seems a slight one. The use of the present participle would appear to put more emphasis on (a) particular occasion(s), whereas the infinitival construction is also open to the interpretation that a 'habitual' property is being predicated:

(7.153) I saw John helping/help his wife in the kitchen.

### 5.5.7 'Verbs of emotional attitudes'

5.5.7.1 State situations involving 'emotional attitudes' are usually conceptualized as 'non-variable' (or 'inherently unbounded'), as not being mapped into the time-axis in the way events, processes and 'variable' state situations are. The most common predicates (= 'verbs of emotional attitudes') are: want, like, dislike, love, hate, detest, desire, wish, fear, prefer, need, mind (= 'object to'), envy, trust, distrust, abhor, regret, adore, condemn, satisfy, loathe, revere, sympathize with, please, bore, amuse, puzzle, etc. If we wanted to 'grade' them with regard to the degree with which they 'resist expansion' (for pedagogic purposes), it is probably true to assert that these state propositions belong to the same category as those involving 'verbs of perception'. These two groups of state propositions take the LF of the predicate more readily (in the appropriate context) than the remaining two groups involving 'verbs of cognition' and 'verbs of relation'. Situations involving an emotional attitude towards an entity conceptualized as non-variable are indeed generally marked by the SF of the predicate:

(7.154) I love my home town.

(7.155) I prefer tea to coffee.

(7.156) I abhor going to lectures at 9 am.

With both bounded and unbounded quantities of a substance 'verbs of emotional attitudes' in co-occurrence with durational adverbials denote a 'homogeneous' and 'continuous' (= 'non-iterative') situation:

(7.157) I detested Beethoven's music/Ninth Symphony for years.

The denoted situation is understood as being in existence at 'all' instants during the (limited) period of time named by the adverbial.

Without this type of adverbial, sentences like (7.154) - (7.156) denote

a non-variable property of a given subject referent, seen as 'unlimited in duration', despite our well-known experiences of changing attitudes towards objects, individuals or states of affairs in general.

The notion of variability comes very much to the fore if these predicates are used in the EF. Note the presupposition about the 'transitory' nature of the emotional relationship referred to by the speaker in the following utterance (the reference is to a 'fickle person'):

(7.158) Who is he loving now? (Satchell 1939:214).

Wen liebt er denn jetzt schon wieder?

The now is again a marker of an undefined stretch of time which is seen in contrast to some larger period of time. Cf. also an adult's utterance to a child who generally does not like ginger:

(7.159) So you are liking ginger today, are you? (König & Lutzeier 1973:301).

Heute hast du also nichts gegen Ingwer, ja?

This idea of an implied contrast is important. If there is no contrast implied, even with reference to  $PR_1$ , the SF is used with these predicates:

(7.160) I want a cup of tea right now.

Frequently the expanded predicates co-occur with degree-adverbials:

(7.161) While she talked I was liking him more and more  
(Jespersen 1931:221).

(7.162) He was liking me even less for saying that (LDR:29).  
Nach der Antwort konnte er mich noch weniger leiden.

In shops we can often hear utterances like:

(7.163) A: 'Can I help you?' - B: 'I am/was wanting a book on ...'.

Upon being questioned most native speakers of E 'explain' this usage as being 'more polite' or 'less insisting' (note the frequent use of the preterite tense for this purpose). Or consider the following situation in a bank where a customer, after having been served, is still standing at the counter fumbling with his papers:

(7.164) Clerk: 'Were you wanting something else?'

Wollten Sie vielleicht noch etwas?

This particular utterance had the illocutionary force of a polite order (ie, 'and now clear out, you are obstructing business'). Note the use of the 'modal particle' (Abtönungspartikel) vielleicht in the G translation of (7.164), suggested here as the most likely utterance in this particular context. In other contexts the selection of the EF with these predicates can make the utterance 'less committing' for the participants involved in the discourse:

(7.165) How are you liking the party? (Allen 1966:231)

(7.166) 'How are you liking your new job?' - 'Oh, I'm liking it all right' (Allen 1966:231).

Again the reference is to new 'sensations', which are regarded by the speaker(s) as 'variable properties', the presupposition being that the listener may not yet have developed a 'final' or non-variable attitude towards the entities referred to by the object NPs. Speakers of G will probably make use of an adverbial modification, in order to express the idea of 'lower commitment' in utterances of this kind. The most probable translation equivalent for (7.166) would then be:

(7.166) Wie gefällt Ihnen denn (bis jetzt) Ihre neue Arbeit?

These particular interpretations of utterances containing 'verbs of emotional attitudes' in the EF are, of course, a matter of pragmatics. We should not state that one of the 'meanings', or even the meaning of the EF (this is Weinrich's position), is to be

'more polite' or 'less insisting', but rather, given a specific communicative intention (namely expressing a certain degree of 'mitigation'), the speaker may opt for the EF to realize this intention, because the presupposition of 'variability' associated with the use of this form makes it amenable to the realization of this particular communicative purpose. This is also valid for Hatcher's (1951:272) characterization of certain utterances as being "more personal" or "more warmly felt" (or quite generally for what traditional grammarians have called the 'evaluative force' of the EF: see §5.6.4):

(7.167) I insist (suggest) that you go. - vs.

I am not insisting. I am only suggesting that you go. The illocutionary force has changed, and as with state propositions containing 'verbs of perception' this involves again a qualitative modification of the situation referred to by the utterance (= variability). G speakers would again resort to 'modal particles'; for (7.167): aber, doch, bloss.

The semantic implications attached to the use of the EF with state predicates which normally serve in non-variable state propositions may force us in G to re-lexicalize in order to express the particular semantic notion of the 'transience' of an emotional attitude and to establish translation equivalence. To take an example from the literature (Millington-Ward 1954, quoted in Schopf 1969:31):

(7.168) A: 'It's getting late. Shall we go home?'

B: 'Oh please, not yet. I am loving this Turkish music. Aren't you?'

A: 'No. Frankly, I am hating it'.

These utterances do not refer to a 'permanent' attitude towards Turkish music, but rather to the more 'transient' state of '(not



enjoying s.th.'. The use of lieben and hassen in G could hardly be interpreted as referring to a 'passing' state situation, hence the need for a different lexical realization, the most likely one being (cf. Schopf 1969:31): Diese Musik bereitet mir Vergnügen/Unbehagen. Furthermore, we have lexicalizations like von etwas entzückt sein or mir ist etwas verhasst.

5.5.7.2 The students' performance in the multiple-choice task reveals again a wide gap between their productive and receptive competence. Whereas none of them generated the structure with the EF of the 'verb of emotion' in the 'free' translation, it is accepted by many learners in the E & P - test: first or second preference respectively (see Table 49, items 1d and 2e). At the same time deviant structures are accepted by a large proportion of the group (cf. items 1a, 2c):

No	Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
			*	+	RI	Σ
1	Stellen Sie sich einen 'Burschen' vor, der sich ständig in ein anderes Mädchen verliebt. Sie wollen sagen: 'Wen liebt er denn jetzt schon wieder?'					
	a) Who does he love now again?	*	22	29	16	120
	b) Who does he love still now again?	*	36	15	6	165
	c) Who is he loving still now again?	*	36	15	10	152
	d) Who is he loving now?	+	22	29	18	108
	e) Who does he love?	*	34	17	4	167
2	Stellen Sie sich vor, dass jemand normalerweise Whisky nicht mag, aber heute Whisky trinkt. Sie wollen sagen: 'Heute hast du also nichts gegen Whisky?'					
	a) Today also you like Whisky?	*	34	17	12	142
	b) You like whisky, don't you?	*	42	9	8	149
	c) Today do you like whisky?	*	19	32	23	103
	d) You are liking whisky, aren't you?	*	46	5	1	172
	e) So you are liking whisky today, are you?	+	31	20	15	140

Table 49: 'Verbs of emotional attitudes' & EF

#### 5.5.8 'Verbs of cognition'

5.5.8.1 Verbs like know, believe, think, hope, doubt, suspect, assume, guess, regard, expect, imagine, admit, care, comprehend,

understand, apprehend, consider, deem, esteem, fancy, judge, wonder, intend, anticipate, appreciate, mean, figure/gather (= suppose), etc are more difficult to find in the EF. We must however be aware that many of these predicates are homonyms. Thus sentences containing predicates like think, wonder, consider, imagine, assume can often denote a mental activity, thereby being 'synonymous' with non-stative predicates like ponder on, reflect, ruminate (cf. the G nachdenken). If used in an activity proposition these predicates take the EF readily, when the reference is to the ongoingness of the mental activity:

- (7.169) The picture which the poet gives us is peaceful and friendly. I  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{am thinking} \\ \text{think} \end{array} \right\}$  of a ship which is slowly rowing to sunny Palestine (DS/GE, Poem).
- (7.170) I have been thinking about this all night (HM:82).  
Ich habe die ganze Nacht darüber gegrübelt.
- (7.171) For once I am not thinking of you (HM:169)  
Zur Abwechslung habe ich einmal nicht an dich gedacht.
- (7.172) You are imagining it/things (HM:246, 180).  
Das bildest du dir ein/du leidest unter Einbildungen.

The stative think (meinen/glauben in G) can be paraphrased by 'my opinion is', 'I believe in', or 'it seems to me that'. Frequent distorted lexicalizations of this in G learners' E are: \* my mean is, \* it is my meaning/mind. The SF is usually selected for non-variable state situations related to 'cognition':

- (7.173) A: 'I think the president of this club is a real bastard and should go'.  
B: 'I suppose you are right'.  
C: 'I imagine he won't resign'.

On the basis of his corpus-based analysis Ota observes that all the "private verbs" (verbs of perception, mental attitude and cognition)

occur more frequently with I/you? than with you/he (cf. Ota 1963:85). The speaker expresses 'conclusive judgments', he states 'facts' (cf. Bodelsen 1964) which are not directly observable by the hearer. Furthermore, the speaker does not 'observe' state of affairs either which is, as Schopf points out (see § 4.1.8), a pre-condition for conceptualizing a situation as 'in progress', 'transient' or 'variable'. Pedagogic grammars restrict themselves to comments like "not normally used" (Thomson & Martinet 1960:117f) or "less frequently used" in the EF (Hornby 1962:116f), or they reject the EF completely (see § 6.1). Even scholarly grammars are not very helpful as regards the question why we can usually not accept the EF (cf. Allen 1966: 206: "for some reason or other"):

(7.174) This opinion is an old one. \*But some people today  
are still thinking ( $\Rightarrow$  still think) that it is true  
(DS/FE, Woman).

(7.175) The darkie answered: \*'Now I am understanding  
( $\Rightarrow$  understand) why the man of number six fought  
so hard (NS/R, Thrown off).

These sentences denote non-variable situations.<sup>1</sup> Neither are they conceptualized as 'dynamic' processes being in progress at a particular PR, nor do they predicate a 'transient' property of the referent of the subject.

Utterances having the illocutionary force of a request frequently have the 'verb of cognition' in the EF:

(7.176) I am hoping that you will give me some help with  
my error analysis.

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1. Now I understand/know it can also denote a bordercrossing situation (= 'sudden flash of understanding/sudden transition into the state of knowing').

By selecting the EF in the matrix sentence the speaker relativizes his own attitude to the request which is felt to be 'less insisting' or 'more tentative' and also leaves the hearer 'more free' to say no. G would use the Abtönungspartikel doch here: Ich hoffe doch, dass .... The particular communicative effect is even stronger with the EF of the preterite or present perfect tense. Thus we observe various 'degrees of mitigation' with the individual tense forms. Separating the predicate of the matrix sentence from the actual moment of speaking renders the speaker's attitude towards his request (that is, at the time of locution) an even more variable property ('tentativeness') than the corresponding present tense forms (SF and EF):

- (7.177) 'Have a drink'. - 'I was wondering whether you'd like a walk' (HM:206).

Möchten Sie nicht lieber einen Spaziergang machen?

- (7.178) She will have been hoping that everything is fixed ... but she'll be afraid that nothing so good as that will ever happen to us (HM:54).

Sie wird sich der Hoffnung hingegeben haben, dass ...

In these utterances the subject of the expanded predicates takes an attitude of 'modified hoping' towards the situation denoted by the embedded clause. On the other hand, the same idea of 'tentativeness' attached to the use of the EF with these predicates could make an utterance 'offensive' (ie, yield an undesirable qualitative modification) in some social circumstances. For instance, in the situation where someone parts with his dog the new owner may be implied not to be very reliable. The EF must be avoided here:

- (7.179) Now, I hope you'll be a good master to him (NS/R, Dog).

This also explains why the SF is selected if the hearer can gain something from the situations denoted by the embedded clauses (so far

it was always the speaker who wanted something from the hearer), provided the speaker does not want to assign any marked degree of mitigation to his utterance:

(7.180) I hope I will be able to help you one day.

Schopf (1969:31) gives an interesting example in which even know occurs in the EF:

(7.181) Apparently, our neighbour isn't knowing us again.

Unser Nachbar will uns wieder einmal nicht kennen.

The situation referred to in this utterance is clearly attributable to an act of volition or intention on the part of the referent of the subject: cf. the use of the modal in the G translation and E expressions like He does not want to recognize/acknowledge us (= activity proposition). The utterance involves a qualitative modification of its illocutionary force. Compare the use of mean in the following two contexts:

(7.182) A: 'What do you mean? Why are you talking like that?'

B: 'What do I mean? You'd better mend that fuse.

That's all I mean' (BBC).

(7.183) It's a question I have been meaning to ask you for some time (H:36)

Es ist eine Frage, die ich dir schon lange mal stellen wollte.

Predicates like understand, but also see, hear and tell (in the SF) can occur in a matrix sentence followed by an embedded clause, thereby denoting the result of an act of communication by a third person:

(7.184) I understand/hear/see/am (being) told (that) you've had some trouble with the police lately.



5.5.8.2 Although the pedagogic grammar completely rejects the occurrence of the EF with 'verbs of cognition', a rather consistent percentage of students select the EF in the FCS - test (see Table 50). There is hardly any difference in the scores in relation to the 'agentive' and the 'stative' think (cf. items 1 and 2), which suggests that they may not be 'aware' of the different denotations of this lexeme. Somehow surprising, because of the almost balanced selection scores (40 : 60), is the marked difference in the objection scores. They are rather high for the use of the EF. This may be an indication of their receptive competence; with the more 'productive' selection task the uncertainty increases:

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object	
1	I __ about this problem all night.	have thought	25	8
		have been	17	20
		thinking		
2	This opinion is an old one. But some people today __ that it is true.	still think	23	13
		are still	19	18½
		thinking		
3	I __ to ask you this question for a long time.	have been	20	22
		meaning		
		have meant	22	10½
4	The train attendant answered: 'Now I __ why the man of number 6 fought so hard against me'.	am under-	18	21½
		standing		
		understand	24	9
5	Stellen Sie sich vor, Sie sind Kunde in einem Buchladen und haben einen etwas ausgefallenen Kaufwunsch. Sie wollen deshalb nicht so 'aufdringlich' wirken: 'I __ a book on the great murder cases in this century'.	was wanting	17	26½
		want	25	11½

Table 50: 'Verbs of cognition/emotion' & SF/EF

### 5.5.9 'Verbs of relation'

5.5.9.1 BE and related predicates: We have already made use of concepts like 'absolute' vs. 'relative' state and 'reversible' vs. 'irreversible' state. The decision which of these categories a state situation is to be assigned to is not only a matter of the whole proposition, but also often a matter of pragmatics. After

extensive flooding has occurred we might say: The river is still wide (= 'transitory' state), although The river is wide is normally conceptualized as a persistent state. These state types would seem to form a matrix as follows:

absolute	relative		
John is dead The windscreen is broken	John is tall John/the wardrobe is old	irreversible	persistent
The vase is broken	The river/lake is wide	reversible	
John is alive The door/box is open The traffic-lights are green Mary is married/ pregnant John is present/ absent Mary is asleep/awake	John is hungry Mary is beautiful/young The tree is green  John is exhausted/ tired The soup is hot  The bed is close to the wall	transitory	

Fig. 11: State types

Possible tests for 'absolute' vs. 'relative' states are (in) compatibility with the comparative and adverbs like slightly and rather:

- (7.185) \* Dave is more dead/asleep/married than Mary.  
 \* Dave ist toter/schlafender/verheirateter als Mary.
- (7.186) Dave is taller/older/more tired than Mary.  
 Dave ist grösser/älter/müder als Mary.
- (7.187) \* Dave is slightly/rather dead/married.  
 Dave is slightly taller/older than Mary.  
 Dave is rather old/tall.

The (in) compatibility with still/not any more can serve as a test frame for 'transitory' vs. 'persistent' states:

(7.188) \* Dave is (not) still dead/tall/old (anymore).

\* Dave ist (nicht mehr) noch tot/gross/alt.

(7.189) Mary is (not) still pregnant/beautiful/a student (anymore).

Mary ist (nicht mehr) noch schwanger/tot/Studentin.

All these state propositions do not take the EF of the copula:

(7.190) \* John is being dead/old/tall.

(7.191) \* Mary is being pregnant/asleep/beautiful/a student.

(7.192) \* The set of drawers is being open/close to the wall.

These state situations are characterized by not being subject to change by a mere act of will on the part of the referent of the (animate) subject (with inanimate subjects the element of volition or intention does not apply anyway: (7.192)). Sentences like Dave is being careful/a pest denote an activity situation, the corresponding proposition contains a DO in Dowty's sense: see § 5.3.4.4. The activity is under the control of the agent.

The restrictions on the co-occurrence with the EF are also valid for state propositions containing certain 'hyponyms' of be as the predicate. The latter can generally be paraphrased by 'be + adjective', eg:

<u>remain</u>	= 'be the same before and after t' (or: 'situation continues to exist')
<u>equal</u>	= 'be the same'
<u>resemble</u>	= 'be like/similar to'
<u>matter</u>	= 'be important'
<u>suffice</u>	= 'be enough'
<u>fit</u>	= 'be suitable'
<u>hold</u>	= 'be valid'

State propositions involving these lexemes usually have the predicate in the SF:

- (7.193) The present parking restrictions hold for all residents in this area.
- (7.194) Two tablets a day suffice.
- (7.195) He found that the distance ( $\Rightarrow$  length) of the wire didn't matter (NS/R, Cable).
- (7.196) They live a life of children. \*I think these two boys are standing for many other children (NS/GE, Sawyer).
- (7.196a) ... these two boys stand for (= 'are representative of') many children.
- (7.197) He needs books and records, etc. \*10 marks are not covering the whole costs (DS/FE, Money).
- (7.197a) ... 10 marks do not cover (= 'are not sufficient for') all the costs.

In some contexts the situation referred to is seen as a variable one. Thus the EF becomes appropriate in an adult's utterance to a child in the context of 'doing sums':

- (7.198) So 2 and 3 is equalling 4 now? (König & Lutzeier 1973:301).

Other examples of this usage are (the addressee had voiced a different opinion from the one put forward by the speaker):

- (7.199) The regulation that an undergraduate student is not allowed to borrow more than five books is still holding, I'm afraid.
- (7.200) What we are concerned with is whether this extremely expensive form of higher education is fitting the individuals who receive it (BBC).

In § 5.2.2.6 we observed the change of denotation of resemble from 'be like' to 'become like' in inchoative propositions: see (4.138). Similarly with matter (ie, 'become important') in:

- (7.201) It is mattering less and less these days whether  
a teacher is wearing jeans or a dress in class.

5.5.9.2 HAVE and related predicates:

Have-sentences like:

- (7.202) I have a torch.

are ambiguous as to 'temporary availability' (= 'I have a torch on/  
with me', see § 5.5.5.3 on have-copying in locative sentences) and  
'possession' (= 'I have a torch among my possessions'): cf. Anderson  
1971:113. The 'verbs of possession' are Dative verbs (in Fillmore's  
system) which is partly spelled out in E and G surface structure:

- (7.203) I have/own/possess a Volkswagen.

Ich habe/besitze einen Volkswagen.

- (7.204) The Volkswagen belongs to me.<sup>1</sup>

Der Volkswagen gehört mir.

All these predicates are very resistant to expansion:

- (7.205) \* I am having/owning/possessing a Volkswagen.<sup>2</sup>

\* The Volkswagen is belonging to me.

\* The Volkswagen is being had/owned/possessed by me.

At a high level of abstraction (cf. Anderson's localist treatment,  
1971:100ff) state situations related to 'possession' and 'cognition'  
can be considered 'abstract locations', eg: s.o. knows s.th. = 's.o.  
has knowledge of s.th.', or: 'the knowledge of s.th. is with s.o.'.  
The further 'reduction' of have-sentences to be-sentences can be found  
with all the predicates related to have (see below). It is a problem

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1. The subject NP has to be definite: \* A Volkswagen belongs to me,  
\* 50 paintings belong to me.

2. Nominalizations involving have are activity predicates: have a good  
cry, have a huge meal, have a conversation with s.o..



which eventually needs further investigation. State propositions of cognition and possession are qualitatively hard or impossible to modify:

(7.206) \* I know this poem more and more/carefully/correctly by heart.

(7.207) \* I own this car more and more/carefully/correctly. Rather the principle of 'either - or' observable with absolute states operates here ('have or have not the knowledge/possession of s.th.')

(7.208) I don't know this poem by heart any more.

(7.209) I don't own this car any more.

The only instance of a 'verb of possession' used in the EF which I have come across refers to a game situation in which one of the players may say:

(7.210) So you are owning Alaska, are you? (König & Lutzefer 1973:301).

Du besitzt jetzt also Alaska?

The same remarks as regards the impossibility of modifying the situation 'qualitatively' apply to 'locative verbs' (Anderson 1971) such as contain, consist of, include, which subjectivize the Locative case element. No matter whether they are employed in generic utterances or in sentences denoting situations of a more transitory nature (ie, 'actuality' at  $PR_1$ ), these predicates would always seem to be in the  $SF^1$  (cf. Allen 1966:223: "It is not clear just why these verbs should function differently from verbs like lie"):

(7.211) Beans contain 25 per cent protein.

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1. We are not concerned here with the related activity predicate contain (= 'hold within bounds or control') as in: John contained his anger or The police were unable to contain the crowd in the square.

- (7.212) These bodies together contain more than 324 million cubic miles of water (W:9).

In all diesen Erscheinungsformen zusammen gibt es mehr als 1350 Millionen Kubikkilometer Wasser auf der Erde.

- (7.213) This bottle/box contains whisky/five apples.

- (7.214) The sac contains a sugar solution (W:102).

In dem Beutel befindet sich eine Zuckerlösung.

Containing s.th. is again an 'absolute' property, the 'container' either has something in it or not; cf:

- (7.215) \* This bottle almost contains whisky.

The 'objects' which are in a container can vary, both 'qualitatively' and 'quantitatively'; thus a barrel can contain beer or dynamite, it can be full, half-empty or completely empty. The property contain itself is invariable, it is inherently given for any specific container, whether it has something in it or not (cf. Schopf 1969:38). This is why the EF can probably never be observed in state propositions having contain as the predicate. The predicate is understood in an abstract relational sense, which is also borne out by the G translations of (7.212) and (7.213) in making use of the realizations of the existential operator ( $\exists x$ ) underlying existential and locative sentences (see § 5.5.5.2). In this abstract sense contain has no related lexical field. The property of containing can therefore not be 'replaced' (in temporal succession) by another closely related property, given the same subject argument (= 'container'). This also explains why 'paraphrases' like the following (which we may wish to assign to these predicates):

- (7.216) contain = 'have something in it'  
consist of = 'have something as parts/members'

include = 'have something among'

are, as it were, still too 'concrete'. If contain were indeed 'only' the lexicalization of 'have s.th. in', there would be no reason why it should not have a related lexical field. Eg: support ('have on'), adjoin ('have beside'), cover ('have under'), etc. A container like a barrel can indeed support, adjoin, cover and contain other entities (and all at the same time), but it has only one 'abstract' property of containing. In this relational sense contain is an invariable, property-defining predicate on a given locative subject.

The acceptability of Locative case elements as grammatical subjects of a predicate involving contain is doubtful, if these predicates do not define the properties of the locative subject:

(7.217) There is a chair in the corner.

(7.218) ? The corner contains a chair.

? The corner has a chair in it.<sup>1</sup>

This oddness, or incompatibility, between these predicates and the subject noun corner is probably due to the fact that there is no physical property to corner. The latter is a geometrical abstraction and not a concrete 'container'. The fact that there might be a chair in it does not seem to be a property-defining predicate.

Measurement predicates like weigh, cost, cover, etc. (= semi-copulas with an obligatory complement) are also related to have (and be):

(7.219) The car weighs half a ton (= 'has the weight of ...', 'is ... in weight').

(7.220) This car costs £1000 (= 'has the price of ...', 'is ... in price').

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1. These utterances are more readily acceptable in stage directions.

With the appropriate adverbial modification cost can occur in the EF. The situations referred to are seen as variable, the implication being one of 'contrast':

(7.221) Has Mr. X forgotten what the ( $\Rightarrow \emptyset$ ) life  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{costs} \\ \text{is costing} \end{array} \right\}$  today? (DS/FE, Money).

(7.222) Prices can only go up in the long term. Materials are costing more, labour is costing more ... (BBC).

(7.223) This type of car is costing £1000 this year.

The variability of the predicated property also depends on the character of the subject. Thus the weight of a car is usually conceptualized as a non-variable property, whereas weight is pragmatically known to be a variable property of a person:

(7.224) \* The car is weighing half a ton (this week).

(7.225) I am weighing 12 stones today.

Similarly with cover, where the property 'be ... in area' is only in existence ('true') for as long as the referent of the subject argument is 'in existence'. I.e., for the situation:

(7.226) This field covers three acres (= 'is three acres in area').

to exist, the 'temporal extension' of the subject referent and the predicated property must be 'identical'. Since this property is an invariable one we do not get:

(7.227) \* This field is covering three acres (this year).

5.5.9.3 'Modal linking verbs': Bald (1973:49) provides a useful semantic characterization of the predicates seem and appear in terms of the speaker's judgement of the 'facticity' of the situation referred to: "may or may not be true that X be Y".<sup>1</sup> These modal

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1. Bald (1973) treats prove and turn out in the same category. These predicates are, however, not modals. They occur regularly in the EF, if the sentence denotes an inchoative situation:

(7.228) The discussions in Brussels are proving rather difficult (BBC).

(7.229) This play is turning out to be a failure.

When these predicates are in the SF of the preterite tense, the sentences name the result of a process (as always with inchoative happening propositions): it proved/turned out that ... (= 'that X be Y has come about').

linking verbs do not occur in the EF:

(7.230) This man seems (to be) innocent/a doctor.

(7.231) This man appears (to be) innocent.

This man appears to be a doctor.

5.5.9.4 'Verbs of spatial relationships': By this I would like to understand such predicates as stretch, extend, go, reach, run, flow, lead and border, which serve in state propositions involving 'spatial' or 'dimensional' relationships. These 'stative directional clauses' (Anderson 1971:124) generally denote non-variable situations, hence the use of the SF is normal:

(7.232) The Rhine separates Germany from France.

The students' CC contains quasi-minimal pair utterances which indicate a certain degree of uncertainty as regards the selection of SF or EF with these 'pseudo-motional' state propositions:

(7.233) Behind the Speaker's chair there is a Smoking Room.

A passage goes across the room (DS/GE, Commons).

(1.47) \* From one side to the other a passage is extending  
(DS/GE, Commons).

(1.47a) A passage extends from one side to the other.

(7.234) Stairs of stone run from the earth ( $\Rightarrow$  bottom) to the highest point of the castle (NS/R, Knight).

(7.235) \* This was for the first time ever that a cable was running through the sea (NS/R, Cable).

(7.235a) This was the first time that a cable had been laid on the bed of the ocean.

Given the knowledge that the motorway Newcastle - Aberdeen has not been completed yet, ie, is still being built, a speaker can select the EF:

(7.236) The new motorway to Aberdeen is (now) reaching Edinburgh.

- (7.237) The new motorway to Aberdeen is (now) going from  
Newcastle to/as far as Edinburgh.

Whereas non-variable situations are usually encoded by means of the  
SF:

- (7.238) The Canadian wheat belt stretches from Winnipeg to  
Calgary.

the same predicate can occur in the EF, if the situation referred to  
is regarded as a variable one. Thus we get in weather forecasts:

- (7.239) After a short interval of high pressure over Scotland  
another trough of low pressure is stretching again  
from the Shetlands to the Borders.

Dowty (1972:78f) gives the following example which he leaves largely  
unexplained:

- (7.240) That path  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{leads} \\ * \text{ is leading} \end{array} \right\}$  to the top of the mountain.

- (7.241) We have been on this path for an hour; I wonder  
where it  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is leading} \\ * \text{ leads} \end{array} \right\}$  us?

(7.240) is a clear case of a 'stative directional clause', it denotes  
a 'permanent' or 'unrestricted state'. In (7.241) a particular  
point of time is understood by the context. The utterance also makes  
overt mention of an attitude of evaluation towards a certain situation  
(I wonder), which is not regarded as 'matter-of-fact' by the speaker.  
Rather it is conceptualized as a process: 'I really wonder where our  
present activity is causing us to go'.

5.5.9.5 The students' reactions to sentences containing 'verbs of  
relation' are summarized in Table 51.

We can make the following observations:

- i) the selection of the SF is clearly preferred by the majority  
of students (about 75 per cent) with most of these predicates;  
the objection scores for the two forms are markedly different



No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object	
1	Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn live a life of children. I think these 2 boys _ for many other children.	are standing stand	23 19	8 15½
2	Taschengeld - A boy needs books or records, etc. 10 marks _ the whole costs.	do not cover are not covering	31 11	7½ 21
3	Jeremy _ a Volkswagen.	owns is owning	30 12	8½ 23
4	The bottle _ whisky.	is containing contains	6 36	25½ 4½
5	House of Commons: Behind the Speaker's chair there is a Smoking Room. A passage _ across the room.	goes is going	18 24	13½ 10
6	That path _ to the top of the mountain.	leads is leading	31 11	8½ 24½
7	We have been on this path for an hour. I wonder where it _ us.	leads is leading	30 12	13½ 16½
8	The Austin Mini _ 1000 pounds this year.	is costing costs	6 36	22½ 7½

Table 51: 'Verbs of relation' & SF/EF

and very high for the EF (cf. items 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8),

- ii) the preference for the EF increases significantly (in comparison with the other relational predicates) when the 'verb of relation' is 'pseudo-motional' or 'pseudo-positional' in character (cf. items 5 and 1); these results confirm the hypothesis which evolved from the PA, namely that errors with these predicates are due to the over-generalization of the 'actual present' use of the EF with activity and variable state predicates,

- iii) the students do not seem to be 'aware' of the principle of 'variability' allowing the selection of the EF in item 8; the scores are the same as with the other sentences.

Summing up the students' performance with non-variable state propositions it appears that the uncertainty about the use of the two forms is greater with verbs of perception, emotion and cognition than with

verbs of relation.

## 5.6 On certain interpretations of utterances

In this section it will be argued that certain 'properties', which have in the past been described under the heading of 'aspect' and/or the 'meaning' of the EF, are in fact a matter of the interpretation of utterances, ie, lie in the domain of pragmatics.

### 5.6.1 The generic interpretation

Judging from the divergence in the literature (cf, et alia, Chafe 1970, Macaulay 1971, Anderson 1973) it is still uncertain what the precise linguistic indications of 'genericness' are. Thus Macaulay (1971) argues convincingly that 'genericness' cannot be a deep structure feature, neither of an NP, nor of the verb, or a combination of both verbal and nominal elements (as is postulated by Chafe 1970:169 & 189 in his treatment of "timeless propensities"):

"... a generic interpretation is not caused by the presence of generic features or constituents but rather by the absence of certain features or constituents which are incompatible with a generic interpretation ... generic sentences are the totally unmarked case and all non-generic sentences are marked in some way. The marking on non-generic sentences takes the form of expressions which have referential force" (Macaulay 1971:78).

We will therefore say that it is utterances which are interpreted generically. What the nature of this 'interpretive process/strategy' is is far from obvious. Macaulay (1971:82) suggests: "Search every sentence for referential clues and only in their absence consider a generic interpretation". One thing, however, is clear: sentences like The sun rises in the east, London lies on the Thames (note the incompatibility with the referential these days), Maria Callas sings (= 'M.C. is a singer') are not interpreted generically (cf. Chafe

1970:169 for a different opinion). The latter are 'habitual' occurrences or 'unrestricted states'. The referents of the subject are 'unique' entities. Generic utterances proper are understood (for pragmatic reasons) as referring to 'timeless' states of affairs, which are not mapped into the time-axis at all, whereby the NPs denote the whole class of objects or the universal substance as named by the noun:

(8.1) A/the hippopotamus feeds on seaweed.

(8.2) Water boils at 100°C.

Generic utterances are incompatible with the function of the EF in denoting the ongoingness of an event or process or the temporally limited existence of a state (related to a specific PR):

(8.3) \* A teacher must be prepared too but he is doing it on his own way (DS/FE, Machines).

(8.3a) ... but he does it his own way.

(8.1a) \* A/the hippopotamus is feeding on seaweed.

(8.2a) \* Water is boiling at 100°C.

On the basis of the results of the FCS - test we can expect errors like (8.3) to occur not too frequently. Relatively few students select the EF in generic utterances, and the objection scores to the EF are significantly high in comparison with the ones for the SF (Table 52):

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object	
1	Water ___ at 100°C.	is boiling boils	9 33	25 6½
2	A teacher, just like a computer, must be prepared too. But he ___ his own way.	does is doing	35 7	7½ 25½

Table 52: Generic utterances

### 5.6.2 The habitual interpretation

5.6.2.1 The importance of quantification: Generic utterances have to be distinguished from utterances which have a 'habitual' or 'iterative' interpretation. It is primarily event situations (but also variable state situations) which can recur 'habitually'. This particular reading is not a question of the inherent semantic properties of predicates or propositions (as are such notions like 'durative' vs. 'momentary' or 'telic' vs. 'atelic'). Contrasting certain tense or 'aspectual' forms in terms of 'habitual' vs. 'non-habitual' 'meaning' is an empirically false and pedagogically misleading procedure. Cf. Zandvoort (1972:60): "The past tense may be used with ITERATIVE meaning" (= 'habitual' in our usage). Also Thomson & Martinet (1960:121f): "The main use of the simple present tense is to express habitual actions..., eg, I usually wear a coat but I am not wearing one today as it isn't cold. (The first verb refers to a habit, the second to a present action)". There are also utterances with a 'habitual' reading which have the predicate in the EF, although we can certainly observe that this interpretation is more usual with the SFs. The 'habitual' (like the 'iterative') reading depends on a variety of contextual and pragmatic factors, the most important linguistic one being quantification.

Utterances which are understood as referring to the habitual occurrence of a situation normally contain adverbials of relative quantity (a lot of, very little, etc.) and/or adverbials of relative (regular and irregular) frequency (usually, often, always, frequently, every day, twice daily, whenever ..., etc.), often in conjunction with plural markers on the subject and/or object NP. If the adverbials of frequency are not overtly stated they are either contextually derivable information (= 'elliptical utterances'), or the habitual recurrence of the situation is implicitly understood for pragmatic

reasons, eg: He gets up at 7 am. (ie, 'every morning', 'always'),  
He attends an evening class (ie, 'every Tuesday night'):

- (8.4) He walked to the office every day/most days (last year).
- (8.5) He read a lot (in those days).
- (8.6) He often talks rubbish nowadays.
- (8.7) He scores a goal in every game.
- (8.8) She always cries on those occasions/at funerals.
- (8.9) Whenever she cries he becomes all soft and tender.

As can be seen from (8.4) - (8.9), a common adverbial modification in habitual utterances is the collocation with time-when adverbials denoting a 'limited' period of time, regardless of whether the temporal extension is or is not precisely defined (these days vs. last year). It is the co-occurrence with these referential time-when adverbials naming a period of time relative to PR which is of particular importance to the acceptability of the EF in utterances referring to the habitual recurrence of a situation, because the use of these adverbials implies a contrast to a 'larger' stretch of time (= variability, see § 5.3.2.8, (5.117)).

These adverbials are not present in the following pieces of discourse from the learners' CC. The EF is therefore not appropriate in utterances which are not understood as referring to a temporarily existing habit:

- (8.10) \* When a member of the House of Commons fails when he is speaking then the other say 'Speak up'. When he is speaking dull things the other empty the benches (DS/GE, Commons).
- (8.10a) When an M.P. speaks/talks/produces nonsense the others say 'Speak up'. When he speaks monotonously/in a dull manner the others empty the benches.

(8.11) \* So they did every day the same. Sometimes they were going to walk. But they had no other things to do (DS/FE, Woman).

(8.11a) So they did the same every day. Sometimes they went for walks ...

If relative time-when adverbials denoting a 'limited' period of time are present the predicates in these habitual utterances are more readily amenable to expansion, particularly if the simultaneous presence of a point of time adverbial suggests that the definite occasions at which an event is in progress figure more prominently in the speaker's mind:

(8.12) I {walk  
\* am walking} to the office every morning (all the year round).

(8.13) I {walk  
am walking} to the office every morning (at 9 am)  
now/these days.

(8.14) It is a natural thing to see a woman working in a bureau where some years ago men had worked (DS/FE, Woman).

(8.14a) It is quite common now to see a woman working in an office where previously men {used to work  
had been working} .

(8.15) I normally have tea at 6 pm. but this week I am having it at 7 pm.

(8.16) He never used to play with his children but during his wife's illness he {played  
was playing} with them much more often/every night.

The students' performance in the FCS - test confirms the hypothesis which evolved from the PA (see § 3.4.2); namely that the choice between the two forms in 'habitual' utterances, especially with activity predicates, is a serious learning problem for these learners (Table 53):



No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object
1	When a member of the House of Commons __ nonsense the others __: 'Speak up'. When he __ in a dull manner the others __ the benches.	talks is talking are saying say speaks is speaking	30 all Vs 12 in SF: 13 7½ 29 all Vs 21 in EF: 21 22½
2	In summer I __ other things. I __ to the River Havel with my friends. We __ there all day. We __ swimming or __ football. Or we __ about and __ nothing.	do am doing am going go are staying stay go are going play are playing are lying lie do are doing	29 13 21 all Vs 21 in SF: 20 8 22 all Vs 26 in EF: 16 18½ 30 12 17 25 28 14
3	I also need money for books, exercise- books, etc. For this I pay 3 marks a month. And now I __ every day, and cigarettes have such a high price.	am smoking smoke	23 12 19 15
4	Last year I smoked 30 cigarettes a day but now I __ only 10.	smoke am smoking	20 15½ 22 10½
5	I __ tennis every day, summer and winter.	am playing play	11 19 31 10½
6	I __ tennis every day this summer.	play am playing	15 11 27 20
7	The school is the place where the pupils __ every day.	go are going	14 10 28 18
8	'Can you come round on Tuesday?' - 'No, I'm sorry. I __ to an evening class every Tuesday night this winter'.	go am going	13 10 29 17½

Table 53: Habitual interpretation

The scores are distributed in a fairly heterogeneous manner. The conclusions drawn from these figures must therefore be considered tentative ones:

- i) the students' reactions to longer stretches of discourse  
(see items 1 and 2) show very clearly the kind of  
'oscillation' between the two forms which we could observe

in the analysis of the learners' compositions. Although, on the whole, the SF is selected more often than the EF in these longer passages, the proportion of selected EFs (between 25 and 50 per cent) must be regarded 'too high' for these 'habitual' utterances,

- ii) with the exception of one item (no 5) the EF is chosen by about two thirds of the group, although the sentences contain an adverbial of frequency (every day) marking the regular occurrence of the event (cf. items 6 - 8). The presence of relative time-when adverbials denoting a limited period of time (eg, this summer) does not affect the selection scores (cf. items 6 and 8 with item 7),
- iii) the selection and objection scores for items 6 - 8 show an asymmetric distribution which we could otherwise not observe with this type of EP: although the EF is clearly the 'preferred' form in the selection task, it is consistently rejected by a majority in the subsequent objection task. This also applies to items 1 and 2. Thus it seems that in a more 'productive' exercise the students are much more 'prone' to errors with the EF of activity predicates (by overgeneralizing the use of the EF in the case of 'actual present' to utterances having a 'habitual' interpretation) than in a task involving the level of reception/recognition. It appears that on the level of production the 'force' of the 'signal words' (= adverbs of frequency) is not sufficient to counter-balance or even cancel the 'force' of the overgeneralization as a very potential source of error. Identifying the 'habitual'

reading of certain utterances must be one of the primary goals of a pedagogic grammar for this area,

iv) with sentences containing both types of 'signal words'

(every day and now), the choice between SF or EF is almost balanced (cf. items 3 and 4). The objections to the SF are higher in these two items than those discussed in (iii).

This is probably due to the presence of now. The idea of a contrast, as it is expressed in item 4, does not seem to affect the students' preference for one form or the other.

#### 5.6.2.2 Utterances containing predicates in the simple present tense form with a non-habitual interpretation:

There are relatively few contexts in which the SF of the present tense can be used in E for utterances not having a generic, habitual iterative or unrestricted state interpretation (cf. Leech 1971:2f on the "instantaneous use" of this form, also Anderson 1973:45: "aorist present"):

##### i) commentaries

Someone reports on someone else's actions, eg, sports reports, comments on machines in operation, comments on pictures in newspapers, illustrated story books, etc:

(8.17) Test sentence: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select Object
Sportreporter (Fussball): Overath __ the ball from Beckenbauer. Overath __ to Müller. Müller __ and __. He __, he __ a goal!!!	is getting	21
	gets	21 all Vs
	passes	27 in EF:
	is passing	15 10
	is turning	14
	turns	28 all Vs
	is shooting	14 in SF:
	shoots	28 18
	is scoring	20
	scores	22
	is scoring	21
	scores	21

Table 54: Commentary

Again we observe 'oscillation' between the two forms, with in increased preference for the EF in the first and last sentence of this commentary. The discourse with all the predicates in the SF is rejected by more students than the 'same' one containing only EFs, which is most probably due to the overgeneralization of the use of EFs in sentences denoting 'actual present'. Our notion of a 'bounded event' may be useful in a pedagogic grammar (see § 6.3).

(8.18) Look at this harvester! Can you see how it cuts the corn and throws the bales aside?

(8.19) Mr Wilson, the new Prime Minister, leaves Buckingham Palace after having seen the Queen.

In these pictorial comments the otherwise obligatory co-occurrence of preterite tense forms and adverbials of definite past time (see § 4.8.1) 'breaks down':

(8.20) Dr. Kissinger, on his way to Syria,  
          { stops at Heathrow yesterday  
          { at Heathrow yesterday       } for talks with the  
          { arriving at Heathrow yesterday } British Government.

ii) demonstrations

The person who performs certain actions accompanies himself verbally, eg, a magician performing a trick, a teacher performing an experiment, an astronaut checking his instruments, cooking and gymnastics demonstrations on television, etc.

iii) reviews

Someone outlines the plot of a film, play or novel; précis and summaries. Notice that in the following discourse of two persons discussing a film the simple present tense is used for the narration of the actual plot, whereas the preterite tense is selected where the reviewer expresses his evaluation of the film:

(8.21) A: '... and when they go back to the hay loft they find the book and they hay is perfectly preserved'.

B: 'I found the film rather self-conscious in its technique. What did you think of ...?'

A: 'I found it also very self-conscious. I admired it, but I don't actually believe in it. I want to say, when they stand round the grave, well, I just didn't believe in it for a moment' (BBC).

iv) directions

Someone tells someone else the way, stage directions, film scenarios, etc:

(8.22) As she watches Harry she seats herself at the table and slowly stirs her drink. He shrinks under her gaze and her head begins to nod (CSB:33).

v) 'historic present'

Past events are related as if they were going on at the moment of speaking, eg:

(8.23) And then he finds that the barrow isn't safe, so he steps over to an iron bedstead and puts his foot through the springs, just as he was quoting Lenin's letter to the toiling masses (CSB:28).

The (obligatory) use of the SF of the present tense in these contexts of step-by-step descriptions is in accordance with the semantic principle governing the use of the SF in general: an event is seen as a bounded situation (as a 'whole', 'in its entirety'). The speaker does not perceive of any particular 'phase' of the event, the situation is not conceptualized as ongoing, <sup>S</sup>as being in progression at the moment of speaking. Rather the speaker has a view of the 'total' event in its entirety. I find it empirically and pedagogically inappropriate to characterize the use of the SF in these contexts as



"instantaneous present" (cf. Leech 1971:2f), ie, in deliberate contrast to the durative element which is supposedly present in the use of the EF (cf. Leech 1971:15). The magician's or demonstrator's use of the SF is not meant to denote non-duration (neither the speaker nor the listener has any influence on that), but that one step after the other in a whole chain of events has been performed. The characterization of the use of the SF in step-by-step descriptions as denoting 'bounded events' or 'acts performed' (cf. Close 1959:58f) then leads easily on to the use of the simple preterite tense in narratives where the SF is most commonly employed in sentences denoting 'successive acts' (see § 5.7.1 ) or 'subsequential events' (with reference to a 'definite' time identified somewhere earlier in the discourse).

### 5.6.3 The iterative interpretation

5.6.3.1 Linguistic contexts: The 'iterative' reading of an utterance, where we can gloss 'iterative' as 'one subject doing the same thing repeatedly' or 'separate like acts by the same participant following each other in temporal succession', is dependent upon linguistic and pragmatic factors. Unlike the 'habitual' interpretation it does not depend on quantification in the wide sense, but on the pluralization of the 'basic' event. Thus we get it in the presence of adverbials of absolute frequency:

(8.24) He knocked on the door three times.<sup>1</sup>

(8.26) He read War and Peace several times.

It also derives from the interplay of the type of 'basic situation/

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1. In continuous narratives states of affairs like these are frequently understood as 'one total event'. They then usually form one 'step' in a successive series of events (cf. Leech 1969:125 on the ambiguity of (8.24): 'give three knocks' vs. 'knock on three occasions'), eg: (8.25) He got to the house. He knocked three times on the door.  
When nobody opened he left a note.



proposition' involved (bounded, incl. momentary) and the presence of a durational adverbial:

(8.27) He sneezed for five minutes.

(8.28) Y. Menuhin played Beethoven's violin concerto for six hours.

Utterances containing a momentary predicate in the EF also have an iterative interpretation:

(8.29) She was yelling her head off.

Let us now follow up in greater detail momentary activity and accomplishment situations, as these are the types of situation (= bounded ones) which are primarily involved (as 'nuclei') in utterances with an iterative reading.

5.6.3.2 Momentary activity propositions: No event is, of course, 'momentary' in terms of 'objective reality' (cf. Bull 1960:3). Even momentary events take time for their realization. Momentariness is a pragmatic matter. Events (eg, activities) conceptualized as 'momentary' constitute bounded situations: He knocked (once) on the door (= 'He gave a/one knock on the door'). Further examples of momentary activity predicates are: kick, hit, strike, sob, nod, tap, bang, wink, yell, sneeze, slam, spit, click, etc. If the 'basic' proposition containing this type of predicate co-occurs with adverbials of absolute frequency, the 'total'/bounded event is 'pluralized' and understood as taking place more than once (on the same occasion), ie, iteratively: see (8.24). Utterances involving momentary activity predicates are also understood iteratively if the predicates occur in the frame V and V:

(8.30) He knocked and knocked/sneezed and sneezed.

Er klopfte/nieste in einem fort.

The element of 'duration' felt with these utterances is a derived

function of the iterative interpretation. Durative activity predicates do not have this iterative reading in this context, rather the durational element of the single 'continuous' event is stressed:

(8.31) He worked and worked/talked and talked/slept and slept.

Momentary bordercrossing predicates do not occur in this construction, at least not with the reading 'separate like acts on the same occasion':

(8.32)\* He detected and detected the fault/arrived and arrived in London/died and died.

Utterances containing momentary activity predicates in the EF are understood iteratively:

(8.33) Someone is knocking on the door.

As the EF denotes progressive aktionsart a momentary event must be conceptualized as 'being in existence' several times, in order to allow the situation referred to in (8.33) to be interpreted as 'ongoing'. In other words, if an unbounded situation is to be denoted the EF is obligatory in this context with momentary activity predicates. The element of 'duration' felt with (8.33) is again a derived or secondary function of the 'ongoingness' of the situation. We may further notice that adverbials of absolute frequency (once, twice, three/several times) cannot co-occur with the EF in this context, because the boundedness of the adverbial modification is incompatible with the unboundedness of a situation like the one referred to in (8.33). Thus the next two utterances from the learners' CC serve as a 'perfect' minimal pair opposition:

(8.34) Now the man was satisfied. But after some time he called the attendant once more (NS/R, Thrown off).

(8.35) So one day Aunt Polly is shouting for him [= 'iterative'].

\*She is shouting ( $\Rightarrow$  shouts) once more, and suddenly there is a slight noise behind her (NS/GE, Sawyer).

The notion of iteration is often overtly indicated in G by plural-marking or by lexical means, especially adverbials of frequency (cf. Leisi's examples quoted in Nehls 1974:80):

(8.36) Mary yelled. - Mary stiess einen schrillen Schrei aus.

Mary was yelling. - Mary stiess schrille Schreie aus.

(8.37) Paul nodded. - Paul nickte.

Paul was nodding. - Paul nickte mehrmals.

(8.38) He hit his son. - Er schlug seinen Sohn.

And suddenly he was wildly hitting his son. - Und plötzlich schlug er wild auf seinen Sohn ein.

(8.39) I have been begging my two youngsters for years to find a nice girl (H:49).

Ich habe meine beiden Jüngsten immer wieder angefleht ...

Momentary predicates also occur in (non-agentive) occurrences (flash, click, light up, etc):

(8.40) The trigger clicked. - Der Abzug klickte.

Something is clicking here. - Hier klickt doch laufend etwas.

Utterances containing momentary predicates in co-occurrence with durational adverbials are also understood iteratively (this is the only reading in which they are acceptable):

(8.41) The light lit up for 20 minutes.

Das Licht blitzte 20 Minuten lang auf.

As the iterative interpretation of (8.27) and (8.41) refers to an unbounded situation anyway, the choice between SF and EF in this context is an optional one, although the EF seems more usual here:

(8.42) Someone has been knocking on my door for five minutes (now).

Momentary activity situations involving such predicates as knock, hit, nod, and wink are 'bi-directional', certainly when they

are repeated a number of times, ie, they incorporate a to-and-fro movement. With some predicates the bi-directional movement has to be spelled out overtly in order to distinguish the single event from the iterative reading:

- (8.43) He  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{leapt} \\ \text{was leaping} \end{array} \right\}$  up and down in his place (for ten minutes).  
Er sprang (zehn Minuten lang) immer wieder von seinem Sitz auf.

The notion of iteration has to be spelled out adverbially in this case in G (immer wieder). Neither He was leaping up in his place nor Er sprang von seinem Sitz auf can be interpreted iteratively. The following pair of sentences from the published translations is therefore not a translation equivalent, since the G sentence only denotes a uni-directional movement performed by several people:

- (8.44) People were leaping up and down in their places (1984:15).  
Die Menschen sprangen von ihren Sitzen auf.

Compare the encoding of an accomplishment situation in (8.45):

- (8.45) He jumped on to/off the bus.

with the encoding of an unbounded activity situation consisting of separate 'bi-directional' events (= iteration):

- (8.46) He  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{jumped} \\ \text{was jumping} \end{array} \right\}$  on and off the bus (for half an hour).

The students' responses to items containing momentary activity predicates suggest a 'random choice' between the two forms (see Table 54). In the presence of adverbials of absolute frequency the selection scores are 'balanced' (cf. items 1 and 2), although the objection scores indicate a clearer rejection of the EF in this context (= 'level of recognition'). The evaluation and preference scores for the test of translation equivalence support the hypothesis of 'random choice'. They show no difference in relation to the selection of SF or EF in

the case of a single momentary event (cf. items 5a and 5c). The claim that the learners are not 'aware' of the semantic implication which the EF has with momentary activity predicates is strongly supported by their reactions to items 3 and 4, where a clause with a momentary predicate is embedded into a matrix sentence involving a 'verb of perception'. As in the case with embedded accomplishment predicates (see § 5.5.6.3, analysis of Table 48), the vast majority of students accept the ing-form of the predicate in the embedded clause, regardless of whether it is appropriate or not. The objection scores to the infinitival constructions are correspondingly high. This distribution contrasts very clearly with native speakers' reactions. Kempson & Quirk (1971:552), from whom items 3 and 4 were adapted, report a clear preference for the ing-form in the utterance suggesting an 'iterative' interpretation (item 4), namely 59 : 5 selections and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  : 21 objections with 64 subjects. The infinitival form, on the other hand, received 59 : 5 selections and 1 :  $18\frac{1}{2}$  objections in an utterance suggesting the single event reading (item 3). The effect of the EF on momentary activity predicates ought to be incorporated into pedagogic grammars:

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	'Are you coming to the cinema tonight?' - Paul did not answer. He ___ 3 times.	was only nodding only nodded	19 23	19 $12\frac{1}{2}$
2	So one day Aunt Polly ___ for him, but there is no Tom. She ___ once more and suddenly there is a slight noise behind her.	shouts is shouting shouts is shouting	29 12 21 21	-  $9\frac{1}{2}$ 17
3	I heard Mary ___ just after midnight.	yell yelling	7 35	$26\frac{1}{2}$ 7
4	I heard Mary ___ all night long.	yelling yell	33 9	$6\frac{1}{2}$ 28
Test sentences: E & P - N = 51		Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI $\Sigma$
5	Mary stieß einen schrillen Schrei aus. a) Mary yelled. b) Mary was yelling a cry once. c) Mary was yelling. d) Mary yelled a cry. e) Mary cried with a yell cry.	+ * * * *	30 21 36 15 32 19 35 16 35 16	15 148 10 152 11 147 9 157 10 172

Table 54: Iterative interpretation: momentary predicates

5.6.3.3 Accomplishment propositions: The problem we now want to investigate is why utterances such as:

(8.47) Ian built a sandcastle for two hours.

(8.48)\*<sub>(s)</sub> Ian played Beethoven's Pathétique for two hours.

(8.49)\* Ian broke the windscreen for two hours.

(8.50) Ian lay the Bible aside for two hours.

have different degrees of acceptability and have different interpretations when they are acceptable. We observed in § 5.4.2.2 that a sentence like (8.47) does not normally suggest the completion of an entire sandcastle. Rather it denotes a goal-directed but non-terminative activity, which can be paraphrased as follows:

(8.47a) Ian built/was building at a sandcastle for two hours.

('Ian was sandcastle-building for two hours').

It is knowledge of the world that tells us that a sandcastle (or a sweater) can, generally, not come into existence in two hours' work. It is also knowledge of the world that the performance of a piano sonata usually does not consume more than twenty minutes' play. Hence the interpretation of (8.48) as iterative, since this 'bounded entity of music' (the Pathétique) must 'be mapped several times into the time-axis' in order to allow a 'meaningful' reading. There is obviously an intricate interplay between the 'temporal extension' (or the 'lifespan' to use a metaphorical term) inherent in specific 'objects' and the scope of certain durational adverbials which determines the interpretation of these utterances. Assuming that the 'basic' propositions involved in (8.49) and (8.50) can be regarded as momentary accomplishments (Ian broke the windscreen and Ian lay the Bible aside), it is, however, not the momentariness of these situations which accounts for the incompatibility or compatibility with durational



adverbials. The situation denoted by Ian broke the windscreen involves an irreversible (hence unrepeatable) resultant state (see § 5.5.9.1, Fig. 11), whereas the resultant state of the momentary accomplishment situation Ian lay the Bible aside is a reversible one. Note the possible continuation: ... but then he had another look at it. This is to say, we interpret (8.50) such that the resultant state was in existence ('lasted') for the limited period of two hours (note: transitive lay = 'cause to lie'). - Let us therefore follow up the various types of accomplishment propositions distinguished in § 5.4.1.

Utterances involving existential causatives with an iterative reading usually require lexical means in G:

(8.51) Ian built a sandcastle for months.

Über Monate hinaus baute Ian  
 { immer wieder Strandburgen  
 { eine Strandburg nach der anderen } .

An utterance like Ian baute monatelang eine Strandburg can only be interpreted as referring to a goal-directed activity situation, ie, not even one sandcastle came into existence within the period of time denoted by the adverbial. An utterance like (8.50) involving a reversible resultant state is potentially ambiguous between the iterative reading and the reading that the duration of the resultant state lasted for a certain stretch of time. Only context can select. The particular reading is context-dependent. In G the two interpretations are lexicalized in different ways:

(8.50) a) iterative: In zwei Stunden legte Ian die Bibel  
 { mehrmals  
 { immer wieder } beiseite.

b) resultant state: Ian legte die Bibel für (die Dauer  
 von) zwei Stunden beiseite.

The use of the EF with this kind of accomplishment predicate always

denotes the repetition of the 'basic' bounded act. Thus (8.52)

and (8.53) are understood iteratively:

- (8.52) Ian {was laying the Bible aside for two hours}  
          {has been laying the Bible aside}

In zwei Stunden legte Ian die Bibel mehrmals beiseite.

Ian legte die Bibel mehrmals beiseite.

- (8.53) Ian has been laying the Bible aside for two hours (now).

Ian legt jetzt schon {zwei Stunden lang}  
                          {seit zwei Stunden} immer wieder  
die Bibel beiseite.

Parallel to (8.50b) we interpret:

- (8.54) Dave got up for two hours.

as 'He got out of bed and stayed up for two hours'. The use of the EF in the absence of the durational adverbial does not express iteration here (At last Dave is getting up). Hence get up is not a momentary activity predicate in our sense (cf, however, Allen 1966: 200)<sup>1</sup> but an accomplishment predicate ('reflexive causative').

If the predicate involved in a 'V - NP - adjective' construction is a durative one the interpretation of these utterances is either that of a goal-directed activity or that of iteration, depending on the interplay of pragmatic presuppositions and linguistic factors. We can even think up contexts where the resultant state is in existence for the period of time denoted by the adverbial. The latter plays again an important role:

- (8.56) John painted the wall white {for two hours}  
  {for months}

Utterances like:

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1. As with the imperative in general (apart from the incidence situation denoted by Be painting when we come!) the EF cannot be selected in utterances where the locative adverbial is thematized:

(8.55) Off we go! (\*Off we are going!)

- (8.57) John has been painting the wall white (for two hours).  
John hat (jetzt schon) zwei Stunden damit verbracht,  
die Wand weiss zu streichen.

can be understood either 'resultatively' or 'continuatively' (see § 5.3.2.6). By no means does (8.57) suggest the accomplishment of the goal. The wall is not entirely white yet, (8.57) refers to an activity situation (glossed: 'white-painting'). This is in contrast to the accomplishment reading of John painted the (entire) wall white.

The usual interpretation of momentary accomplishment predicates occurring in the 'V - NP - adjective' construction involving a reversible resultant state is the iterative one when they collocate with durational adverbials, regardless of whether the predicate is in the SF or EF:

- (8.58) Ian {kicked  
was kicking} the door open for two hours.

Ian trat zwei Stunden lang immer wieder die Tür auf.

If the 'nuclear' accomplishment proposition involves an irreversible state the iterative interpretation is ruled out. These propositions can therefore co-occur neither with the EF nor with durational adverbials.

- (8.59) \* Ian {shot  
was shooting} Mary dead for two hours.

- (8.60) \* Ian has been shooting Mary dead (for two hours).

- (8.61) \* Ian has been breaking the windscreen (for two hours).

The fact that there is an irreversible resultant state involved with these predicates which are normally conceptualized as momentary probably also explains that they are 'somehow uneasy' (for lack of a better description) with the EF of the present tense:

- (8.62) Ian is shooting his wife dead.

- (8.63) Ian is breaking the windscreen.

The treatment of stab by Leisi and Nehls (1974:80) is not entirely correct, at least as far as the interpretation of the predicate in the SF is concerned. They suggest the following 'translation' pairs:

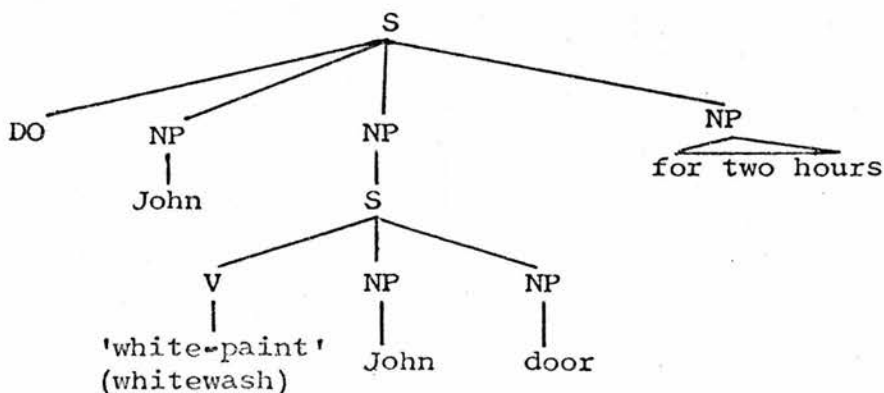
- (8.64) He stabbed his assailant.  
Er erstach seinen Angreifer.
- (8.65) He was stabbing his assailant.  
Er stach auf seinen Angreifer ein.

The E sentence of (8.64) does not necessarily denote an accomplishment situation, contrary to stab to death in the SF which is equivalent to erstechen which always denotes the attainment of the goal ('come to be dead because of knifing'). This can be seen from the following utterance:

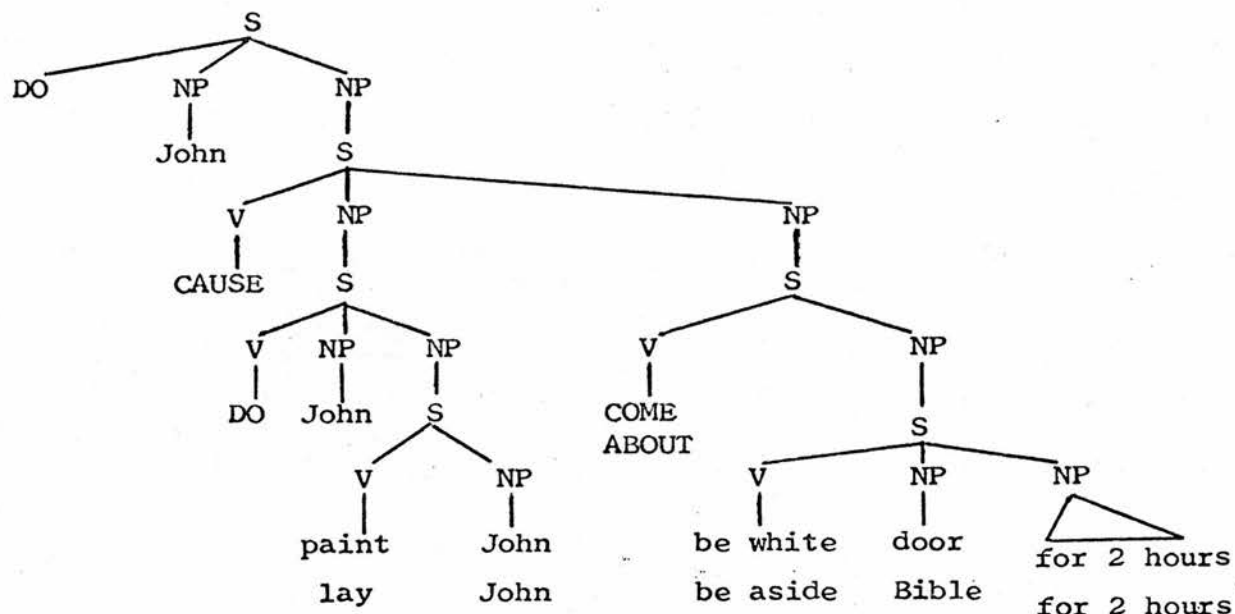
- (8.66) Ian stabbed his wife in the back, but she was still alive when we found her.

Hence the possibility of an iterative interpretation of an utterance containing stab in the EF: see (8.65). The difference between the activity interpretation of these utterances and the reading that the resultant state lasted for the period of time denoted by the adverbial can be represented as follows (note the position of the adverbial):

- (8.67) activity



(8.68) duration of resultant state



In the case of directional locative clauses we observe, given the knowledge (pragmatics!) that a certain distance can be covered in less than the period of time denoted by the adverbial, that with the SF the interpretation must be the iterative one (special consideration must be given to the predicate go), whereas with the EF there is the second possible reading that the subject did not reach the intended goal:

(8.69) Ian walked to the Castle for two hours.

Ian ging zwei Stunden lang zwischen hier und dem Schloss hin und her.

(8.70) Ian has been walking to the Castle for two hours (now).

a) Seit zwei Stunden läuft Ian jetzt schon zwischen hier und dem Schloss hin und her (= 'iterative').

b) Ian ist jetzt schon seit zwei Stunden auf dem Wege zum Schloss ('telic but non terminative').

A similar observation was made by Leech (1969:154) as regards the utterance:

(8.71) I have been walking to work since my car broke down.

a) = a daily repeated happening

b) = a single period of activity: 'I have been walking  
to work but I haven't got there yet'.

The implication holding with 'verbs of movement' and directional PPs  
has been recognised by Lyons (1968:398) and Leech (1969:191):

(8.72) John went to London.  $\supset$  John is in London.

See § 3.4.8, footnote p. 61, on the ambiguity of to. A distinction  
has to be made between go and the other verbs of movement if they  
co-occur with a scalar tensor:

(8.73) John went to London for a week.  $\supset$  'John is in London  
and stays there for a week'.

The resultant state, and not the action of 'locomotion' itself,  
lasted for the specified period of time. Utterances containing the  
other verbs of movement in this environment are usually understood  
iteratively:

(8.74) John walked to the office for a week.

Notice that in G the durational für-phrase can only be used for a  
resultant state, ie, in accomplishment and bordercrossing propositions:

(8.73) John ist für eine Woche nach London gefahren.

(8.75) John left London for a week.

John hat London für eine Woche verlassen.

Activity and state propositions require that E for-phrases are  
translated without für; here the adverbial denotes a single though  
limited period of time during which the situation was in existence:

(8.76) I worked in London for two years.

Ich habe zwei Jahre in London gearbeitet.

(8.77) I believed in God for the first 15 years of my life.

Ich habe die ersten 15 Jahre meines Lebens an Gott  
geglaubt.



If the resultant state implied by the accomplishment predicate is an irreversible one (eg, be dead) the utterances, regardless of whether they have the durative predicate in the SF or EF, cannot have the iterative reading. The 'goal' has not been reached (to = 'towards'), the bordercrossing into the 'final' state has not yet taken place (the subject is still alive):

- (8.78) Ian { smoked  
          { was smoking } himself to death for ten years.  
(8.79) Ian { has smoked  
          { has been smoking } himself to death for (the last)  
                                  ten years (now).

Utterances involving transitive causative accomplishment predicates in the SF are ambiguous as to the iterative and the 'duration of the resultant state' reading, provided the resultant state is a reversible one:

- (8.80) The army closed the border for weeks.  
a) Die Armee sperrte wochenlang immer wieder die Grenze.  
b) Die Armee sperrte für mehrere Wochen die Grenze.

If the EF is selected only the iterative interpretation is possible:

- (8.81) The army have been closing the border for weeks.

The iterative interpretation of sentences involving accomplishment predicates and durational adverbials is, on the whole, not available to these learners (see Table 55). Only with item 1 (play a sonata for hours) a proportion of about 60 per cent of the group recognizes this reading (cf. 1c). Note also that 25 or 50 per cent consider utterances of this kind 'meaningless' (cf. item 4a and 2a respectively). The number of students who accept the iterative reading for these latter utterances is almost negligible (cf. items 2d, 3b, 4d). This is confirmed by the test of translation equivalence (item 5): the sentence involving the expanded present perfect tense form of the accomplishment

predicate in collocation with a scalar tensor (cf. 5d) is given

least preference by the students:

No	Test sentences: CI - N = 42	Yes	No	?	-
1.	Claudio Arrau played Beethoven's 'Pathetique' for 3 hours.				
	a) Der Satz hat keinen Sinn.	6	36	0	0
	b) Er spielte diese Klaviersonate vor 3 Stunden.	7	33	0	2
	c) Er hat diese Klaviersonate in den 3 Stunden immer wieder gespielt, z.B. weil er sie übte.	26	15	0	1
2.	John ran from here to the Teltow-Kanal for hours.				
	a) Der Satz hat keinen Sinn.	21	21	0	0
	b) John rannte vor ein paar Stunden zum Kanal.	8	34	0	0
	c) John rannte zum Kanal und blieb ein paar Stunden dort.	4	36	1	1
	d) John rannte in einem Zeitraum von einigen Stunden zwischen hier und dem Kanal mehrmals hin und her.	3	37	2	0
3.	John sent his wife away for several months.				
	a) John schickte seine Frau für mehrere Monate weg.	38	1	1	2
	b) John schickte seine Frau in einem Zeitraum von mehreren Monaten wiederholte Male weg.	2	38	1	1
	c) Der englische Satz ist mehrdeutig, er kann beide deutsche Interpretationen haben.	1	38	2	1
4.	Peter built a sandcastle for 4 weeks.				
	a) Der Satz hat keinen Sinn.	11	29	1	1
	b) Peter baute vor 4 Wochen eine Strandburg.	7	33	2	0
	c) Peter baute eine Strandburg, die dann 4 Wochen lang stand.	5	30	4	3
	d) In den 4 Wochen baute Peter eine Strandburg nach der anderen.	0	40	2	0
	e) Peter baute 4 Wochen lang an derselben Strandburg.	29	9	4	0
Test sentences: E & P - N = 51		Acc	Eval. * +		Pref. RI Σ
5.	Seit 2 Stunden läuft Peter jetzt schon zwischen hier und dem Stadtpark hin und her.				
	a) For 2 hours Peter is walking now between here and the park.	*	26	25	14 141
	b) Since 2 hours Peter has been walking to the park from here.	*	38	13	5 169
	c) Since 2 hours Peter is walking between here and the park.	*	22	29	26 119
	d) Peter has been walking to the park for 2 hours now.	+	47	4	1 196
	e) Now Peter is walking for 2 hours between here and the park.	*	24	27	13 126

Table 55: Iterative interpretation: accomplishment predicates

Again we can observe that the translation equivalents of a 'continuatively' interpreted utterance (involving here an iterated

event) are seen in structures containing an expanded present tense form in co-occurrence with a since or for - adverbial (cf. Table 55, items 5a, c, e). This is due to the influence of the learners'  $L_1$ . We conclude that the encoding of utterances which are understood 'continuatively' is not yet available to these learners. The functions of expanded perfect tense forms, in specified contexts, will have to feature prominently in the pedagogic grammar.

5.6.3.4 Conclusion: We derive at the following generalization about the iterative interpretation of certain utterances: If according to our pragmatic presuppositions (or 'knowledge of the world') a situation characterized here as an accomplishment cannot be brought about within the period of time denoted by a durational adverbial we understand the goal as not achieved (= telic but non-terminative activity): see (8.47). This interpretation holds true with either SF or EF. If, however, a bounded situation (both momentary activities and accomplishments and durative accomplishments) can be brought about within the period named by the adverbial, and if the nature of the event is such that it can be repeated a number of times, particularly, in the case of accomplishments, when the resultant state is a reversible one, then the event is understood as having taken place several times (iterative reading of the utterance): see (8.29) and (8.48). The use of the EF in these contexts always selects the iterative interpretation: see (8.31), (8.52), (8.81). The situations referred to are now understood as unbounded (an 'activity' consisting of the repetition of like acts is in progress). Accomplishments conceptualized as momentary which involve an irreversible resultant state are incompatible with the EF and/or durational adverbials, if the predicate is in the preterite or perfect tense forms: see (8.59) - (8.61). Accomplishments

conceptualized as durative which involve an irreversible resultant state are compatible with the EF and durational adverbials, the interpretation being that the goal implicit in the predicate has not been reached (telic but non-terminative activity): see (8.79). Contrary to activity propositions, utterances containing accomplishment predicates in co-occurrence with durational adverbials can have an additional interpretation, in which the adverbial denotes the duration of the resultant state. The latter must be a reversible one (cf. \* He shot him dead for two hours): see (8.50b), (8.54), (8.73), (8.80b).

#### 5.6.4 The evaluative force

There are five instances in the learners' CC in which the adverbial always co-occurs with predicates in the SF. The utterances are matter-of-fact statements (habitual or generic interpretation), no emotional overtones are involved:

- (8.82) A: 'But, please, do not forget'. - B: 'No, I will not. I always wake up people ( $\Rightarrow$ passengers at) the right time' (NS/R, Thrown off).

But there are also two utterances in which the EF is 'preferred' by native speakers. They have an evaluative force:

- (8.83) But he had one mistake: He told his deeds always when someone could hear this stories - he was a boaster (NS/R, Knight).

- (8.83a) He  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{always told} \\ \text{was always telling} \end{array} \right\}$  of his deeds when there was someone who could hear these stories.

- (8.84) Tom is a little boy immensely loved by his aunt.

It is his sort always to bring sorrow to her (NS/GE, Sawyer)

- (8.84a)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{He is always } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{causing her sorrow} \\ \text{bringing sorrow to her} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{It is his fate always to bring sorrow to her} \end{array} \right\}$ .

Grammarians have frequently referred to the 'emotional force' or the 'pejorative use' of the EF [sic!]: cf. especially Deutschbein 1917, van der Laan 1922, Jespersen 1924, Charleston 1960. Utterances from scholarly traditional works like the following have become the standard examples in pedagogic grammars (cf. Thomson & Martinet 1960: 117, Hornby 1962:110):

- (8.85) You are always harping on the same string (van der Laan 1922:31).
- (8.86) He is always grumbling (van der Laan 1922:31).
- (8.87) You are always finding fault with me (Jespersen 1931:180).
- (8.88) Someone has been tampering with this book (Poutsma 1926:331).
- (8.89) What are you blubbering for? (Poutsma 1926:331).
- (8.90) John is bothering me a good deal lately (Curme 1931:374).

We may note that all these predicates in the EF are of an emotive character: harp on s.th., grumble, blubber, tamper with s.th., etc. surely are 'inherently' emotionally charged predicates! This also applies to the situations referred to in utterances taken from Macaulay (1971:45):

- (8.91) My car is always breaking down at the wrong time.
- (8.92) The sirens are continually going off, just when I'm going to sleep.
- (8.93) The train is always arriving late.
- (8.94) This pen is always leaking.

It is the situations referred to in these utterances which, by their 'very nature', tend to be or are 'annoying', 'irritating', to human beings, just as:

- (8.95) Bill is always giving Mary the most wonderful and genuine compliments.

is a very pleasant 'thing' to happen to the person referred to as Mary. Thus we should not say that the EF "often expresses joy or sorrow, pleasure or displeasure" (Curme 1931:374). It is the 'nature' of the observed situation and/or the speaker's 'state of mind' towards a situation which may evoke certain emotions in him that makes him select the EF rather than the SF. As the EF denotes the ongoingness of a situation, ie, the 'dynamic' aspect of a state of affairs, it lends itself more readily to the realization of the specific communicative intention in assigning a certain 'emotional load' to the utterance. We have already noted that the SF is more usual in utterances understood as statements of 'fact' (cf. Bodelsen 1964).

The presence of frequency indicators like always, constantly, continually, perpetually, for ever, etc. suggests that the event is likely to take place again and again. It is also for this pragmatic reason that the utterances listed above have an emotional force. Speaking very loosely in terms of 'knowledge of the world' we may want to say that - often - there is nothing more 'annoying' or 'irritating' than what happens again and again, particularly if it happens at moments thought 'unfit' by the speaker: see (8.91) and (8.92). This usage cannot be considered part of the function or denotation of the EF.

The 'character' of the observed situation leading to a certain emotionally charged state of mind then induces the speaker to select simultaneously the EF, the frequency adverbial and an appropriate intonation contour (most commonly a high fall on the adverbial). There does not seem to be, however, any 'standard' intonation contour associated with, say, 'annoyance'. Notice that in the utterance quoted by Jespersen (1931:180):

(8.96)      What have you been doing to that picture?



both 'annoyance' and 'admiration' could be expressed with the same intonation contour merely by altering certain paralinguistic features (eg, a frown vs. a nice smile). The 'emotional force' of certain utterances derives from a whole bundle of linguistic, paralinguistic and pragmatic factors. It cannot be assigned solely to a grammatical form like the EF.

G makes use of frequency adverbials which tend to be marked 'emotive': andauernd, laufend as opposed to the unmarked immer.

(8.86) He is always grumbling. - Er meckert (aber auch)  
laufend/ständig.

Note again the optional use of 'modal particles' in G. Whereas in E 'habitual', 'matter-of-fact' statements tend to be encoded by SFs, the usual way of expressing this type of statement in G would seem to be the copula structure:

(8.97) He always grumbles. - Er ist immer mürrisch.

Prosodic and paralinguistic features can always assign an 'evaluative force' to these latter statements involving a SF.

The students' reactions to utterances (8.86) and (8.97) reveal an evenly balanced distribution in relation to the two forms, both in the selection and the interpretation task (see Table 56, items 1 and 2b, c). They are probably unaware of the 'fact' that the selection of the EF lends itself particularly well to the encoding of emotionally charged utterances of the kind discussed in this section:

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	He really gets on my nerves. He ____.	always	21	14
		grumbles is always grumbling	21	14
Test sentences: CI - N = 42			Yes No	? -
2	Vergleiche: 'He always grumbles' und 'He is always grumbling'.			
	a) Die beiden Sätze sind inhaltlich völlig gleichwertig. Die unterschiedliche Bedeutung ist, falls sie existiert, wie folgt:		8 34	0 0
	b) Ein Sprecher wird 'He always grumbles' benutzen, wenn ihm das ständige Murren einer Person sehr auf die Nerven geht.		19 20	2 1
	c) Ein Sprecher wird 'He is always grumbling' benutzen, wenn ihm das ständige Murren einer Person sehr auf die Nerven geht.		18 21	2 1

Table 56: Evaluative force

### 5.7 Related events

There are four basic 'constellations' by which two situations can be related. They are referred to in this study as 'compound situation types' (cf. Koschmieder 1934, discussed in Andersson 1972: 191ff under the G terms placed in brackets after our already familiar terms):

- i) succession: 'bounded<sub>1</sub> + bounded<sub>2</sub> ... + bounded<sub>n</sub>' ('Eintritt<sub>1</sub> + Eintritt<sub>2</sub> ... + Eintritt<sub>n</sub>')
- ii) simultaneity: 'unbounded<sub>1</sub> + unbounded<sub>2</sub> ... + unbounded<sub>n</sub>' ('Währen<sub>1</sub> + Währen<sub>2</sub> ... + Währen<sub>n</sub>')
- iii) regress: 'bounded - unbounded' ('Eintritt - Währen')
- iv) incidence: 'unbounded - bounded' ('Währen - Eintritt')

The reasons why two related situations are interpreted in any of these four ways derive from our understanding of the boundedness or unboundedness of a situation and of order and causal relationships (cf. also Bull 1960:18). Again we can identify optional and obligatory uses of the two forms, SF and EF, in relation to these

four compound situation types. However, the interchangeability of the two forms, in the cases where this is possible, is always a uni-directional one: unbounded situations (apart from the non-variable states which do not take part in the (binary) aspect - distinction), ie, events and variable states, can be encoded in connected discourse by selecting either an EF or SF, but a sentence containing a predicate in the EF can never denote a bounded situation, ie, the 'view' of an event in its entirety, without special regard for one of its phases. The EF is the marked member of this binary formal opposition.

#### 5.7.1 Succession

Probably the most common use of SFs in main clauses, especially of preterite tense forms in narratives, is the expression of 'successive events'. In NS the individual verb forms are related to an expression of identified time, usually a time-when adverbial, which serves as a PR for an extended stretch of discourse; generally for as long as it is not substituted by another marker of identified time. Cf. the opening of Orwell's novel '1984':

- (9.1) It was a bright cold day in April, and the clocks were striking thirteen. Winston Smith ... slipped quickly through the glass doors ... (1984:5).

The idea of 'bounded events' (or 'events seen in their entirety') following each other in succession can only be encoded by SFs:

- (9.2) A middle-aged man came out of a public lavatory with a cloth bag of tools folded beneath his arm. He looked casually to left and right, and when the flow of traffic had eased off, crossed the road (LDR:49).

This is also found with main clauses which are either followed or preceded by a dependent clause:

- (9.3) When I came home tonight I found a letter from my lawyer.

Als ich heute abend nach Hause kam, fand ich einen Brief von meinem Rechtsanwalt.

Both the E and the G sentence are unambiguously interpreted as denoting two subsequent events. This is primarily due to the order relationship involved here: you cannot 'find' an object before you have 'reached' the place at which this object is located. In other cases of complex sentences, with either predicate in the SF and the dependent clause introduced by the conjunction when, a causal relationship between the two events can frequently be inferred (cf. also Palmer 1965:78):

- (9.4) When he saw me he laughed out (JB:67).

- (9.5) Moira left the theatre when she spotted me.  
Moira verliess das Theater, als sie mich erblickte.  
(ie, 'X sees Y, and therefore X does z')

This interpretation is impossible with the inverse of the initiative leave, ie, the 'finitive' arrive (we may note that 'to see/spot someone' pragmatically presupposes that the object referred to is already in the range of one's visual perception). It is nonsensical to assert that 'seeing or spotting someone' can cause this person to arrive:

- (9.6) Moira arrived at the theatre when she saw me.  
( $\neq$  'X sees Y, and therefore X arrives at z')

Despite the presence of two SFs the two events are not understood as sequential: see below (9.19).

### 5.7.2 Simultaneity

'Simultaneity' was once claimed by Brunsendorff (1930:229) to be the essential characteristic of the EF, his examples being:

(9.7) When I entered the room he followed me (= succession).

(9.8) When I entered the room he was following me (= simultaneity)

Brusendorff's treatment is not a happy one, because it suggests that there is a 'clearcut' opposition between succession and simultaneity in terms of the SF-EF contrast alone. In complex sentences containing a when - clause two SFs do not, however, always denote subsequent events (cf. (9.6) and (9.9)<sup>1</sup>):

(9.9) When I stayed in London my girl-friend visited me  
three times.

It also neglects the fact that the syntactic frame as given in (9.8) usually denotes 'incidence' (see § 5.7.4); in (9.8), however, the conjunction when is interpreted as 'while', which then makes the reading of simultaneity possible. In order to understand any number of events as simultaneous they must be unbounded ones, an implication of which is that they have duration. This is why EFs are frequently used:

(9.10) When Sir Henry came to the railway station he found  
the Highlander and his dog waiting for him. Both, the  
man and his dog, looked miserable and sad. The dog  
was whining and licking his master's hand. The  
Highlander said ... (NS/R, Dog).

(9.11) The PM talking to Robin Day. And from what the PM  
was saying it would appear that the Government is  
hoping for the best while preparing for the worst.

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1. For the same unjustifiable statement, cf. Nehls (1974:85): "Stehen also in when - Satzgefügen beide Verbalformen in der NEF [= SF], wird dadurch die unmittelbare Aufeinanderfolge der beiden Ereignisse mit der Möglichkeit ihrer kausativen Verknüpfung angezeigt".

But behind the scenes they are quietly making  
contingency plans for meeting the strike threat.  
In the meantime the miners' leaders and the  
Government are battling for the sympathies of the  
<sup>u</sup>  
p<sup>u</sup>ublic (BBC).

As co-extension in duration is only possible if both events are unbounded, the EF is optional here; particularly when the conjunctions as or while are used. Thus any of the four possible constellations (SF - EF) denotes simultaneous events:

- (9.12)    {While }    Moira    {played }    the cello I {watched }  
          {As     }            {was playing }            {was watching }  
          (When) }
- television.

These sentences are compatible with durational for - adverbials:

- (9.13)    While Moira was playing the cello for a few minutes  
          I watched TV.

Frequently one of the predicates is in the EF, the other one in the SF:

- (9.14)    Now that the haze was lifting the other bank came  
          closer (HM:112).
- (9.15)    While he was waiting for Father Rank he knelt and  
          prayed (HM:212).
- (9.16)    Miss Brodie was gazing out over Edinburgh as she  
          spoke (JB:106).

Or either predicate is in the SF:

- (9.17)    In some families the woman goes to work while her  
          husband works at home and looks for ( $\Rightarrow$  after) the  
          children (DS/FE, Woman).

When both clauses involved in the complex sentence denote event situations the selection of the conjunctions as or while avoids the potential ambiguity as to 'succession' or 'simultaneity', which we



have with when and two predicates in the SF in some contexts:

- (9.18) Thousands of people were lined up along the line,  
and when ( $\Rightarrow$  as) the train passed they cheered  
(NS/R, Railway).

As we have simultaneity or co-extension in duration only with unbounded situations we will find the following event propositions in these sentences: atelic activities, telic but non-terminative activities (involving accomplishment predicates), ongoing inchoative happenings and iterated momentary acts:<sup>1</sup>

- (9.20) While John  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{played/} \\ \text{was playing the piano} \\ \text{learned/} \\ \text{was learning a poem} \\ \text{aged/} \\ \text{was ageing} \\ \text{hit/} \\ \text{was hitting the dog} \end{array} \right\}$  Mary  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{danced/} \\ \text{was dancing} \\ \text{painted/} \\ \text{was painting the door} \\ \text{got/} \quad \text{green} \\ \text{was getting prettier and} \\ \text{nodded/} \quad \text{prettier} \\ \text{was nodding her head} \end{array} \right\}$

In G, simultaneity is frequently indicated by the optional use of prepositional phrases like dabei:

- (9.21) The man was walking along the trees by the bank  
and he was holding something in his hand (JB:67).  
Der Mann ging unter den Bäumen am Ufer entlang und  
hielt dabei etwas in seiner Hand.

Very often the adverb da is used in G:

- (9.22) And it was when these cops were chasing the crooks

1. There are problems with assigning the notion of 'co-extension in duration' to sentences containing bordercrossing predicates in the EF. The cannot co-occur with durational adverbials in this environment, however short the period of time denoted by them may be:  
(9.19)\* For a few seconds Moira was leaving the theatre  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{while} \\ \text{when} \end{array} \right\}$  I

was entering it/arriving.

Dowty (1972:75) suggests that sentences like (9.19) denote 'simultaneity' at a particular point of time, a possible paraphrase being 'Moira left the theatre at the same time as I entered it/arrived.

that we played some good tricks with the telly  
(LDR:20).

Und wie diese Bullen den Gaunern hinterher waren,  
da haben wir mit dem Fernseher ein paar schöne  
Mätzchen gemacht.

- (9.23) Son, when you were still peeing all over the floor  
I was on strike for better conditions (CSB:66).  
Sie haben noch ins Zimmer gepinkelt, da hab ich  
schon für bessere Bedingungen gestreikt.

If there is co-reference with regard to a participant in both E  
clauses one of them can be rendered in G by a present participle  
used attributively (see § 5.4.4.2):

- (9.24) He was staring at the woman who was dying.  
Er starrte die sterbende Frau an.

Or one of the E clauses can be expressed in G by a locative verbal  
noun construction:

- (9.25) His eyes seemed to search your face closely while  
he was speaking to you (1984:42).  
Seine Augen schienen im Gespräch das Gesicht des  
Gegenübers genau zu durchforschen.

The adverbial gleichzeitig can, of course, also be employed:

- (9.26) While he sat helplessly musing he had also been  
writing (1984:18).  
Während er in hilflosem Grübeln dagesessen [hatte],  
hatte er gleichzeitig automatisch weitergeschrieben.

### 5.7.3 Regress

Consider the following minimal-pair utterances from the learners'  
CC in one of which the use of a pluperfect instead of the preterite  
tense form is required:

- (9.27) The great express train was gathering speed on the first stage of the long way to Chicago. It had left New York in the evening. A man called for the negro servant (NS/R, Thrown off).
- (9.28) \* The great express train left New York and was gathering speed to Pittsburgh. A huge man called for ... (NS/R, Thrown off).
- (9.28a) The great express train had left New York and was gathering speed towards Pittsburgh.

The compound situation type 'regress', ie, the accomplishment of a bounded event followed by another event which is seen as still in progress at the PR in question, is encoded in E by using a perfect tense form for the first (bounded) event and the EF of the corresponding tense for the subsequent ongoing event. The subject is generally specified only once:

- (9.29) We've just stopped our car and are now hiding in a guilty sort of way behind a wall (BBC).
- (9.30) Syme had produced a strip of paper and was studying it with an ink-pencil between his fingers (1984:48).  
Syme hatte ein Blatt Papier hervorgezogen und studierte es aufmerksam, wobei ...

#### 5.7.4 Incidence

5.7.4.1 It was Jespersen (1924:278) who put forward the idea of the 'temporal frame' (see § 4.1.3), namely that expanded preterite tense forms denote an event as in progress while another event sets in. Pollak (1960) referred to this compound situation type as "Inzidenzschema": "eine neue Handlung bricht in eine im Verlauf befindliche Handlung ein". In our terminology: a bounded event is incidental to an unbounded one. Thus incidence can be observed with momentary events 'encompaseed'

by an unbounded event:

- (9.31) Mary was { leaving the theatre  
                  { playing the piano  
                  { learning a poem  
                  { yelling } when John { shot her dead  
  { knocked on the door  
  { sneezed  
  { spotted her } .

The use of the EF in the clause denoting the unbounded event is obligatory. Incidence is also found when a momentary event is related to a variable state situation:

- (9.32) When I went into the room that morning he was lying  
          on his stomach (LDR:45).

But we will also encounter the incidence situation with durative activity and accomplishment predicates, provided the clauses in which these predicates occur denote an event conceptualized as bounded (seen in its entirety), 'around' which another ongoing event is 'located':

- (9.33) Jerry pinched another lump of sugar when his mother  
          was not looking.

- (9.34) Sandy and Jenny completed the love correspondence  
          between Miss Brodie and the singing master at half-  
          term. They were staying in the small town of Crail  
          with Jenny's aunt (JB:72).

- (9.35) A: 'When did you use up your old sketch pad?' -  
          B: 'Last Saturday afternoon when you were playing  
              golf with Miss Brodie (JB:51).

Incidence is not an independent function of the EF, let alone its basic one, as Jespersen maintains, but a consequence of certain types of events related to each other in a complex sentence, such that the occurrence or realization of a bounded event is 'contained in' a second unbounded one (which is still in progress at the respective PR). The selection of the SF for the former and the EF

for the latter is obligatory. The incidence situation is, strictly speaking, not a matter of time, as Jespersen's term 'temporal frame' suggests. In a sentence like:

(9.36) Claudia was watching Panorama last night.

the denoted event 'consumes' only a sub-stretch of the period of time named by the adverbial, ie, the latter forms a 'temporal frame' around the unbounded event. And yet we do not want to consider (9.36) an instance of the incidence situation, as this involves related events.

The G translations usually contain the adverbial gerade in order to denote the notion of incidence:

(9.37) Scobie looked apprehensively up from the glass of whisky he was measuring (HM:169).

In Angstlicher Erwartung blickte Scobie von dem Glas auf, in das er gerade Whisky eingoss.

If there is co-reference to the same participant in the two clauses the unbounded situation can be encoded in G by an attributively used present participle:

(9.38) Winston seized a dingy singlet that was lying across a chair (1984:28).

Winston ergriff ein über dem Stuhl liegendes graufarbenes Hemd.

This usage then leads to the following interference based error:

(9.39) \* Mr.H. wanted to shake hands with the Duke of W. when he was knocked down by the from the opposite direction coming train (NS/R, Railway).

(9.39a) ... when he was suddenly knocked down by the train (that was) coming from the opposite direction.

5.7.4.2 The learners' reactions to 'related events': We observed in § 3.5.1 that the incidence situation presents a serious learning problem for G learners of E. The next two utterances from the students' CC show that the learners may have the semantic concept but not yet the syntactic means to realize it properly. Thus either the boundedness (here 'momentariness') or the unboundedness of the respective events are spelled out in a cumbersome fashion:

(9.40) \* One day I passed a little cottage where at this moment the postman arrived. He belled and an old woman opened the door (NS/R, Post).

(9.40a) One day I was passing a little cottage when the postman arrived ...

(9.41) \* I took a walk and during this I saw a postman going to the cottage of a poor woman. He rang the bell ... (NS/R, Post).

(9.41a) I was taking a walk when I saw a postman go to the cottage ...

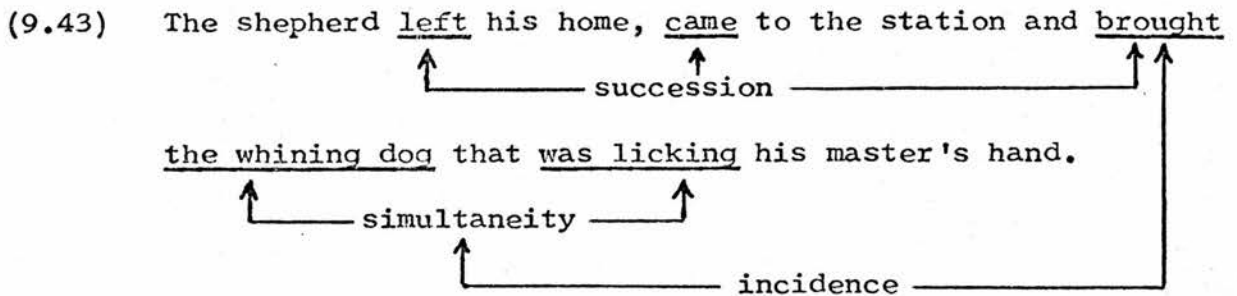
As the inception of a process can also be regarded as a bordercrossing, ie, a bounded event (see § 4.6.3), the SF is inappropriate in the following utterance:

(9.42) I would buy a car if I had the money. \* If I drive with a motor cycle and it begins to rain I would get wet (DS/FE, Car).

(9.42a) If I was riding a bike and it began to rain ...

Notice also the interplay of succession, <sup>sim</sup>ultaneity and incidence in the subsequent piece of discourse:





It has already been pointed out in § 3.5.1 that the incidence situation can obtain not only within the complex sentence but also beyond the sentence boundary, which is, of course, a very important feature of the structure of discourse. Again we observe many errors in this particular area, the erroneous selection of the SF for the unbounded event instead of the EF being the usual case:

(9.44) So far is observation. \* I sat in opposition to you this morning. I saw that you had some postcards and stamps there (NS/GE, Holmes).

(9.44a) When I was sitting opposite you this morning I saw that ...

(9.45) Suddenly the man awoke, looked out of the window and stood rooted with anger. \* The express ran through the prairie (NS/R, Thrown off).

(9.45a) ... The express was passing through the prairie.

The results of the EPs confirm the hypothesis of the incidence situation being a major learning problem for these students (see Table 57). With the incidence situation being realized within a complex sentence, the selection scores for the two forms are 'balanced' (50 : 50; cf. items 1 and 2). In the case where the incidence situation exists beyond the sentence boundary (item 3), the selection of the EF increases. For all three items (1 - 3) the objection scores to the SF are higher than those for the EF. This can again

be accounted for in terms of a marked difference between the productive and the receptive competence of these learners. The test of translation equivalence supports this claim: in both E & P - test items first preference is given to the correct E structure (4a, 5e). Second preference is assigned to a complex sentence with both predicates in the SF (cf. items 4d, 5c). These two sentences are understood by native speakers as denoting succession. We will see below (see discussion of Table 58, item 2a) that the majority of students do, in fact, interpret this kind of sentence as standing for an incidence situation. The learners' interpretation of an E complex sentence denoting incidence sustains the hypothesis that this reading is available to most of them, at least on the level of recognition (cf. Table 57, item 6c). However, an almost equally large proportion of the group has a second reading of this sentence 'available', namely that of 'simultaneous events' (cf. item 6b). Note also that a sentence with both predicates in the EF (= 'simultaneity' to native speakers) is accepted by between 30 - 50 per cent of the students as a possible realization of 'incidence' in E (cf. items 4c, 5d).

Let us now turn to sentences denoting succession (Table 58). The most salient feature of the students' reading of this sentence type is that about 60 per cent consider it the encoding of 'incidence' (cf. item 2a). About the same percentage regards item 1b (which, in fact, names incidence) the proper translation equivalent of a G sentence expressing the succession of two events. About a third of the group sees succession operating, but in the inverse order than the one named by the E sentence (cf. item 2b). The correct order relationship between the two events is seen by an almost negligible number of students only (cf. 2c). Instead, they opt for structures,

No	Test sentences: FCS - N = 42	Choice items	Select	Object
1	While Sir Henry _ some days in Scotland he met a shepherd who had a very beautiful dog.	spent was spending	22 20	18 13
2	One day Coleridge _ a little cottage where at this moment the postman arrived. He rang the bell and an old woman opened the door.	was passing passed	21 21	8 19½
3	17 miles later a serious accident happened. Mr Huskisson, an MP, _ the line to shake hands with the Duke of Wellington. At this moment a locomotive came on the opposite line. Mr. H. was knocked down and fatally injured.	crossed was crossing	26 16	19 11
Test sentences: E & P - N = 51		Acc	Eval. * +	Pref. RI Σ
4	Mary kam ins Zimmer, während Paul an der Arbeit war. a) Mary came into the room while Paul was working. b) Mary was coming in, to the room during Paul was working. c) Mary was coming into the room while Paul was working. d) Mary came into the room when Paul worked. e) Mary came into the room during Paul was working.	+ * * * *	13 38 46 5 36 15 30 21 34 17	31 92 2 181 6 174 11 164 7 171
5	Er war dabei, das Haus zu verlassen, als das Telefon klingelte. a) During he was leaving the house the telephone rang. b) He left the house when the telephone was ringing. c) When he left the house the telephone rang. d) When he was leaving the house the telephone was ringing. e) He was leaving the house when the telephone rang.	* * * * +	34 17 35 16 29 22 25 26 23 28	7 154 5 157 10 135 8 143 20 124
Test sentences: CI - N = 42		Yes No		? -
6	Mary was playing the piano when John entered. a) Die beiden Handlungen folgen einander: Mary hatte gerade aufgehört zu spielen, als John eintrat. b) Die beiden Handlungen sind gleichzeitig: während Mary Klavier spielte, trat John langsam ins Zimmer. c) Während eine Handlung abläuft, tritt eine zweite ein: Mary war dabei, Klavier zu spielen, als John eintrat. d) Die beiden Handlungen folgen einander: John trat ein, und darauf begann Mary, Klavier zu spielen.	3 37 29 8 35 4 2 38		0 2 2 3 0 3 0 2

Table 57: Incidence

No	Test sentences: E & P - N = 51	Acc	Eval.		Pref.	
			*	+	RI	Σ
1	Mary verliess das Theater, als ich sie sah (d.h.: 'ich sah sie, und darauf/deshalb verliess sie das Theater').					
	a) I saw Mary and she left the theatre.	*	45	6	4	167
	b) Mary was leaving the theatre when I saw her.	*	21	30	16	137
	c) I saw Mary and therefore she was leaving the theatre.	*	20	31	16	126
	d) Mary left the theatre when I saw her.	+	34	17	12	154
	e) Because Mary was seen by me she left the theatre.	*	25	26	12	153
	Test sentences: CI - N = 42		Yes	No	?	-
2	Mary left the theatre when I saw her.					
	a) Sie war gerade beim Verlassen des Theaters, als ich sie sah.		26	16	0	0
	b) Sie hatte bereits das Theater verlassen, als ich sie sah.		14	25	2	1
	c) Ich sah Mary, und deshalb/darauf verliess sie das Theater.		3	37	2	1
	d) Mary verliess das Theater, während ich ihr die ganze Zeit nachblickte.		7	32	2	1

Table 58: Succession

in the E & P - test, which somehow spell out the causative element which, as we saw, probably underlies the particular order relationship between the two events (cf. 1c, e).

Unfortunately I forgot to include, in the CI - test, a sentence denoting simultaneity with both predicates in the EF. This would have given us an interesting comparison with the following item, in which the verb in one of the clauses is in the SF (Table 59):

Test sentence: CI - N = 42		Yes	No	?	-
When Mary was playing the piano Paul watched television.					
a)	Mary hatte gerade aufgehört zu spielen, als Paul anfang fernzusehen.	0	41	0	1
b)	Während Mary dabei war, Klavier zu spielen, fing Paul an fernzusehen.	22	19	0	1
c)	Paul fing an fernzusehen, und darauf fing Mary an, Klavier zu spielen.	1	40	0	1
d)	Beide Handlungen sind gleichzeitig, aber Marys Klavierspielen dauert länger als Pauls Fernsehen.	7	30	4	1
e)	Beide Handlungen sind gleichzeitig, aber Marys Klavierspielen dauert kürzer als Pauls Fernsehen.	5	31	4	2
f)	Beide Handlungen sind gleichzeitig und dauern auch gleich lange.	20	15	4	3

Table 59: Simultaneity

Only half the group interpret this sentence as expressing two simultaneous events (cf. item f). Just as many consider it the realization of 'incidence' (cf. item b), which is probably due to the overgeneralization of the EF - SF pattern obligatory with the 'temporal frame' situation.

Summing up the students' performance in the EPs with respect to 'related events', we conclude that both the decoding and the encoding of the corresponding sentences is a serious learning problem for these pupils. This validates the hypotheses which evolved from the PA (see § 3.5). There is a difference in the learners' productive and receptive competence, particularly in relation to the incidence situation. The students' interpretation of the individual complex sentence types is not necessarily matched by the interpretation which a native or truly bilingual competence would assign to these sentences. In other words: the learner detects ambiguities which the native speaker feels unable to discover. The learner operates a concurrent system of both appropriate and inappropriate readings of TL sentences. To discover these 'idiosyncracies' is one of the main aims of EPs. It cannot be achieved by either CA or EA.

#### 5.7.4.3 'Background' and 'scene-setting':

Jespersen (1931:182) also suggests that the 'temporal frame' effect leads to the use of the EF as a 'scene-setting' device in narratives. He claims that there is a tendency to employ the EF at the beginning of a story, "to indicate the general situation which serves as a frame or setting to what follows". He also maintains that the SFs "serve to carry the narrative rapidly on", while the EFs have a "retarding effect" (Jespersen 1931:183). This idea of the EF denoting the 'background' in a narrative figures prominently in Weinrich's work (1970, 1971) and also in pedagogic grammars. To

repeat Weinrich's thesis (see § 4.1.10): "Und diese Funktion, den Hintergrund der Erzählung zu bezeichnen, ist die einzige Funktion des Tempus he was singing" (Weinrich 1971:125). In this form the statement is blatantly wrong. Out of 52 major sections in Graham Greene's novel The Heart of the Matter, for example, only four are introduced by EFs. Two of these occur in direct speech (= DS but not NS in Weinrich's distinction), the other two in utterances referring to the actions of some minor character in the novel. Not more than two of the 20 larger sections of Muriel Spark's novel The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie have an 'opening' with an utterance containing an EF, only one of which refers to an action by the major character in the book. Similar results can be obtained with other contemporaneous 'narrative' writings. In the overwhelming majority of 'scene settings', in the literary works which I consulted, the SF is used. The Heart of the Matter, eg, opens as follows:

- (9.46) Wilson sat on the balcony of the Bedford Hotel with bald pink knees thrust against the ironwork. It was Sunday and the Cathedral bell clanged for matins. On the other side of Bond Street ... sat the young negresses in dark-blue gym smocks engaged in ... Wilson stroked his very young moustache and dreamed, waiting for his gin-and-bitters (HM:11)

The notion of 'scene-setting', which is said to be an important function of the EF in narratives, seems a very doubtful one. This claim is not supported by a first, though admittedly rather superficial, analysis of some literary texts. It was also pointed out in § 3.5.2 that native speakers of E vary a great deal in their 'reactions' towards the opening sequences in students' compositions (NS). It is rather safe to assert that 'many', if not 'most', 'prefer' indeed the



'brisker' style selecting SFs rather than EFs at the beginning of a narrative (at least with the kind of discourse learners are normally confronted with):

- (9.47) Holmes was the only unofficial detective in the world. He hated stagnation and always longed for the most interesting work. One day he and Dr. Watson {sat  
{were sitting} in the study. Holmes {talked  
{was talking} to Watson about his position. Holmes explained (⇒described) to Watson the qualities of a good detective ... (NS/GE, Holmes).

One thing all native speakers of E consulted for their judgment on the learners' compositions agreed upon was the rejection of the 'oscillation' between SF and EFs in the stretches of discourse serving as the 'frame' to the actual 'plot' of the narrative. The consistent use of either SF or EF was definitely 'preferred':

- (9.48) Holmes and Dr. Watson were sitting together and talking. Holmes complained of to have nothing to do. He was craving for an intricate case to uncover it. He was satisfied of himself but he had no thirst of glory. He only took pleasure in the work itself. He told Watson about the three powers which a good detective must have (NS/GE, Holmes).

- (9.48a) Holmes and Dr. Watson {sat  
{were sitting} together talking. Holmes {complained  
{was complaining} of having nothing to do. He {craved  
{was craving} for an intricate case to uncover. He was content with himself, but he had no thirst for glory. He {took  
{was taking} pleasure only in the work itself. He told Watson about ...

Something else does, however, emerge from the analysis of E narratives with respect to the use of the EF: it is selected very often to 'signal' a change in the event line of the discourse structure towards 'minor' participants. This is to say, in a connected narrative discourse EFs are frequently employed when the reference is to an event related to others than the 'main' participant(s) in a narrative as a whole or a particular sub-section thereof. The most common case is the change to another human participant (ie, a less prominent character in the narrative):

- (9.49) Before he (Scobie) went indoors he walked round to the seaward side of the house to check the blackout. He could hear the murmur of Louise's voice inside: she was probably reading poetry. He thought: by God, ... and then his anger moved away again, when he thought of Fraser's disappointment in the morning. Feeling for the handle of the back door, he tore his right hand on a splinter (HM:38).
- (9.50) Wilson stood gloomily by his bed and contemplated his cummerbund. Through the wall he could hear Harris cleaning his teeth for the fifth time that day. Now he was gargling. It sounded like a noise in the pipes. - Wilson sat down on the edge of his bed (HM:61).
- (9.51) Winston glanced across the hall. In the corresponding cubicle on the other side a small man named Tillotson was working steadily away. He looked up and his spectacles darted a hostile flash in Winston's direction. Winston hardly knew Tillotson (1984:37).
- (9.52) 'It lifts one up', Miss Brodie usually said, passing her hand outwards from her breast towards the class of

ten-year-old girls who were listening for the bell  
which would release them. 'Where there is no vision',  
Miss Brodie had assured them ... (JB:7).

Making use of Gleason's (1968:52) proposal for the analysis of  
discourse structure we get the following 'event line' for (9.49); I  
am using Fillmore's 1968 case categories for the labelling of  
participants):

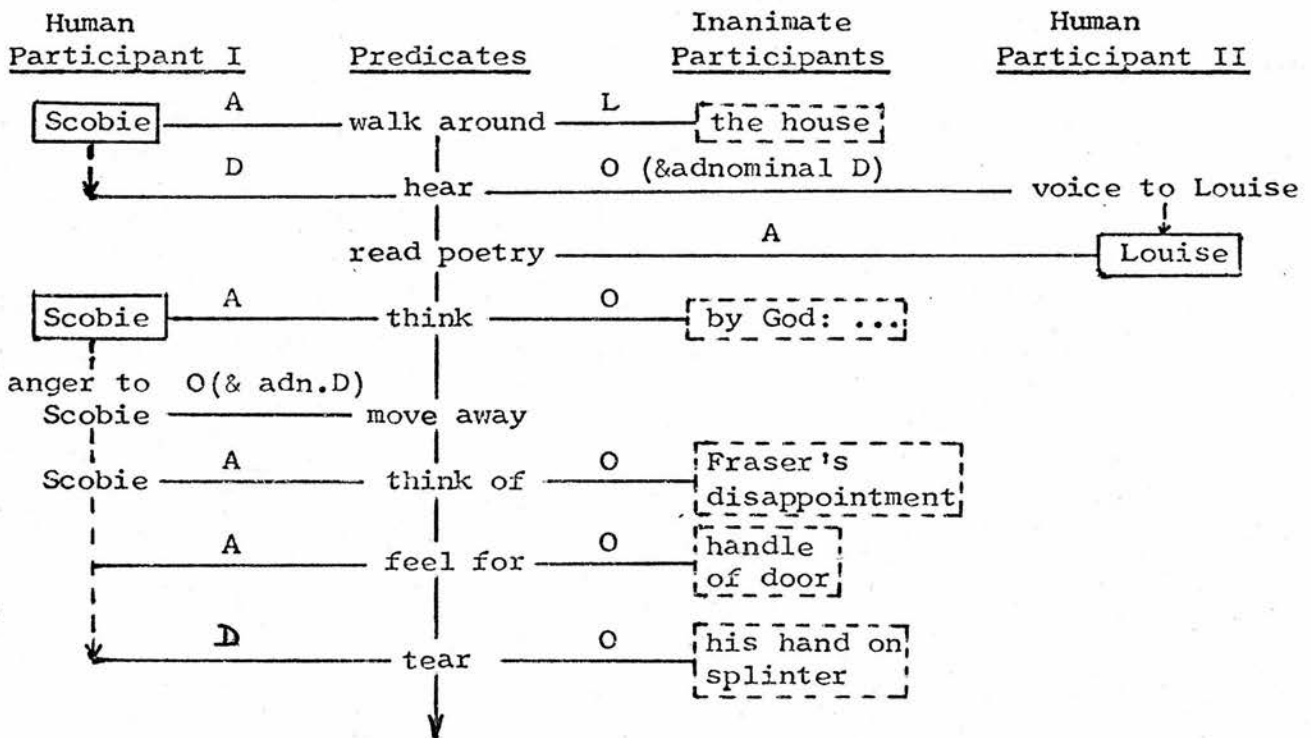


Fig. 12: Event line for discourse (9.49)

The loop in the main event line represents very clearly the reference  
to the action of another, 'minor', human participant involved in the  
narrative. If this hypothesis turned out to be correct, and all  
questions of discourse analysis touched upon in this paragraph require  
more investigation, the idea of selecting the EF with reference to  
unbounded events serving as 'background information' in a narrative  
may be of some value. In line with the suggestion made here is the  
observation that the second most frequent occurrence of EFs in

utterances which may be considered 'background information' is with inanimate participants (the events referred to here are non-agentive occurrences):

(9.53) He [Scobie] went restlessly out on the veranda, closing the netted door carefully behind him, and a mosquito immediately droned towards his ear. The lights were showing in the temporary hospital, and the weight of all that misery lay on his shoulders. It was as if he had shed one responsibility only to take on another (HM:116).

(9.54) She [Brodie] leaned against the elm. It was one of the last autumn days when the leaves were falling in little gusts ... 'Season of mist and mellow fruitfulness. I was engaged to a young man ...' (JB:12).

Native speakers of E seem to vary considerably in the frequency with which they use SFs and EFs respectively, as, eg, a quick comparison of the works of Graham Greene and Virginia Woolf will reveal. These are probably differences of 'style' or 'idiolect'. Let us therefore attempt a conclusion of the descriptive part of this study.

## 5.8 Conclusion

### 5.8.1 The EF and Aspect

Whatever the variations amongst individual native speakers of E may be in relation to the ratio of SF and EF, they invalidate neither the basic function which we have identified for the EF, nor the differentiation of optional and obligatory uses of the two forms, nor the binary aspectual distinction (perfective vs. imperfective) as the linguistic correlate of the semantic opposition between bounded and unbounded situations. Aspect is as much a semantic phenomenon as

it is a syntactic one. As far as its linguistic realization in E and G is concerned it would appear to be of a compositional nature (cf. Verkuyl 1972). It cannot be attributed solely to the function of the EF. Aspect cannot be treated satisfactorily as a purely verbal category. Neither is it a matter of the predicate (as is assumed by Nehls 1974). The analysis of aspect must be concerned with entire sentences and the specific types of situations which they denote. We have seen that we used a more comprehensive approach to semantic structure.<sup>1</sup> Particular attention was given to the complex interaction of grammar and lexicon (cf. Schopf 1969). It was found necessary to decompose surface lexical items, contrary to the approach manifest in Chomsky 1965. Of crucial importance is the classification and investigation of certain types of situations (as denoted by entire sentences) according to their temporal-aspectual properties. The semantic correlates (= proposition types) of the possible combinations of the various contextual elements (verbal and nominal categories, temporal adverbials, aktionsarten, modals and negation: compositional nature of the aspects) must be neutral as regards the lexicalization or grammaticalization of semantic structure, particularly for the purposes of contrastive statements. It follows from this 'global approach' to the nature of aspect that not much can be gained in explanatory terms by handling the binary aspect opposition in a formal linguistic description by assigning a feature  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ - \end{smallmatrix} \text{ PERFECTIVE} \right]$  to the verb or any other level of constituent structure (as is done

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1. Leech (1969:3) points out: "The relation between lexical meanings and the meanings of whole sentences and discourses has only been tentatively explored. The ability of any theory to account for more than a selection of the semantic facts of natural languages has yet to be established",

by Macaulay 1971). 'Perfectivity' may be an adequate grammatical term, but to say that the EF or any other verbal form or contextual configuration denotes 'imperfective aspect' explains nothing. What we want, and this is precisely what the  $L_2$ -learner needs, is a characterization of the semantic properties of certain simple and compound situation types and the various ways in which they are linguistically encoded. The attempt to account for the aspects, ie, a phenomenon which is both semantic and syntactic in character, in terms of a feature notation is doomed to failure for another reason pointed out by Miller (1971:219): "... a new convention would be needed for the interpretation of features with ' - ', because features such as [- Animate] are not usually interpreted as 'not specified as animate or inanimate' but as 'definitely inanimate'".

This comment invokes the 'marked - unmarked' distinction which is relevant to the SF - EF opposition (and also, though differently, to the problems of 'verbal aspect' in Russian: cf. Forsyth 1970): one member of a binary opposition always communicates a 'marked' meaning, whereas the 'unmarked' term need not necessarily convey the opposite meaning (cf. Jakobson 1932: 347f, 358). Neither diachronically nor synchronically does the SF have a 'specific' or 'basic function' (cf. Hatcher 1951:259). Only the EF is characterized by a positive and invariant function. The SF is the unmarked form; the EF is the marked term, both formally and semantically. Apart from non-variable state situations which, as we have seen, do not take part in the binary aspect distinction (= 'inherently unbounded situations'), an unbounded situation can be encoded, in certain contexts, by employing either a SF or an EF. A bounded situation can, however, never be denoted by selecting an EF. We therefore have to distinguish obligatory from



optional uses of the two forms (cf. Nehls 1974). Koschmieder's (1965) hypothesis that the specific function of a particular form is revealed most clearly by stating the contexts in which it must be used or cannot be employed was confirmed. The selection of the EF, in denoting progressive aktionsart, will always render the situation (= event) named by the whole sentence unbounded (provided there is at least one unbounded nominal present: cf. Verkuyl's schemes in 4.4). Thus it constitutes one 'element' in the composition of imperfective aspect.

Let us now summarize the 'effect' of the EF on the particular types of situations distinguished in this study:

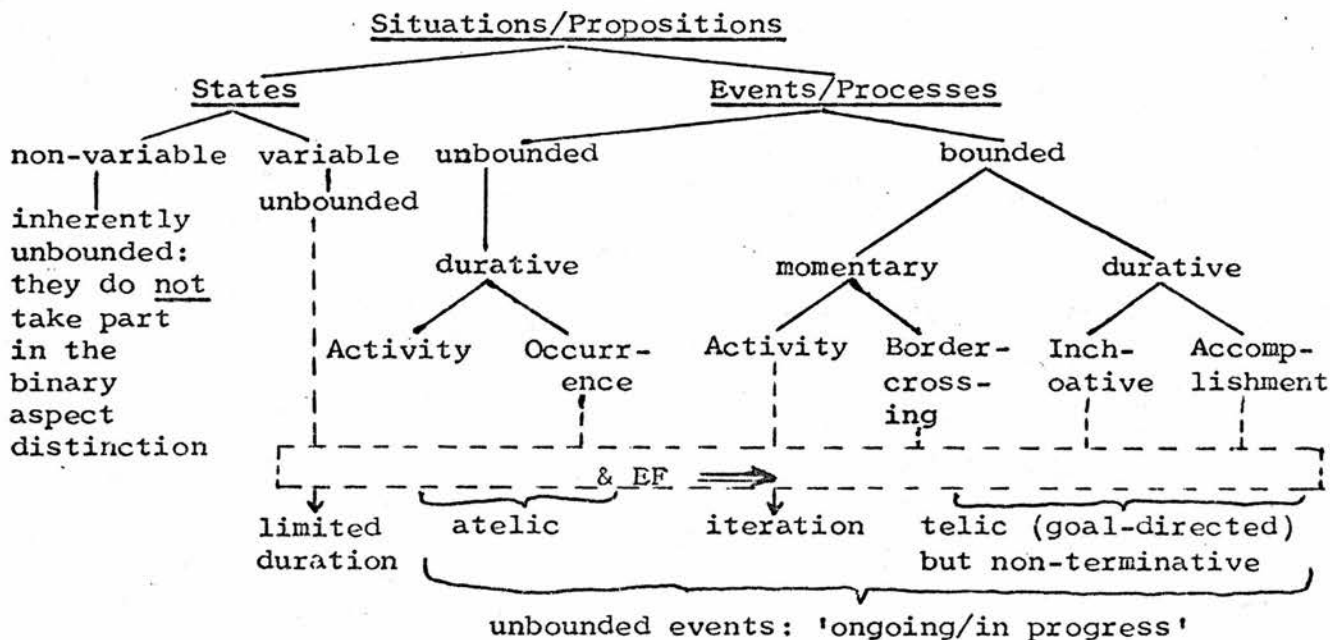


Fig. 13: The effect of the EF on certain types of situations

We also observed that the use of the EF is governed by pragmatic factors, the most important being the presupposition of 'variability' (cf. Schopf 1969). The selection of the EF presupposes the predication of a 'variable property' of a given subject argument. The interpretation of certain utterances as referring to 'generic', 'unrestricted', 'habitual', 'iterative', or 'emotionally charged' states of affairs

cannot be attributed solely to the presence (or absence) of any one of the two forms. It derives from the interplay of various identifiable linguistic, pragmatic, and paralinguistic 'elements'. Bounded and unbounded events can be related at the level of complex sentence or discourse, thereby constituting a limited number of compound situation types: succession, simultaneity, regress and incidence. - We have been able to identify a 'basic function' for the EF ('progressive aktionsart'). All the other 'meanings' which have previously been suggested for be + ing (see § 4.1.1) are 'secondary', in that they derive from the interaction of certain identifiable linguistic elements and/or the interpenetration of various linguistic and pragmatic factors, ie, are then due to the interpretation of contextually bound utterances.

#### 5.8.2 The learners' language

The results of the PA as regards the 'most sensitive' learning points in the students' 'active repertoire' (written compositions) have been confirmed by the EPs:

- i) the overgeneralization of the use of the EF in the case of 'actual present' to 'generic', 'unrestricted state' and 'habitual' utterances. This applies particularly to the 'more productive' task of selecting one of the two forms, as opposed to responses involving more the students' 'receptive competence'. The inappropriate selection of the EF in these contexts (as with 'performatives' and 'commentaries') is an instance of 'over-compensation',
- ii) the 'unawareness' of the semantic implications which the choice of the EF has with telic predicates. On the productive level they usually select the SF to cover the 'meanings' of both forms. The interpretation tests reveal

that most sentences containing an expanded preterite or perfect tense form are seen as referring to terminated events. The reading that it is goal-directed but non-terminative actions/processes that are denoted by these sentences is not available to the learners, 'not even' on the level of recognition,

- iii) the encoding of related events, particularly the incidence situation. For the latter the distribution between the two forms is 50 : 50; the number of correct choices increases with test formats involving more their 'receptive competence'.

Apart from the validation of the hypotheses evolving from the PA, the EPs reveal the existence of further learning problems in the area of tense and aspect usage. Most of these could not have been predicted by the CA, because they cannot be traced back to  $L_1$  - interference (eg, overgeneralization, over-compensation). But neither could they have been identified by a EA/PA - because of zero occurrence in the corpus. Furthermore, the analyst drawing only upon CA and PA has no means of identifying or even predicting certain 'idiosyncratic' conceptualizations on the part of the learner as regards the 'meanings' of a specific form in certain linguistic contexts. The teaching strategy can also have a bearing upon these latter cases. The most salient 'latent' learning problems of the learners' tense and aspect usage are the following:

- i) Filipovic's observation (1974) as regards the (positive) effect of adverbial 'signal words' of 'actual present' on the correct selection of the EF is also valid for G-speaking learners. There is a direct correlation both on the productive and the receptive level.
- ii) The - probably - extensive use of these 'signal words' has

- its adverse effects too: as the result of an intricate interplay of the overgeneralization of the notion of 'actuality', on the one hand, and  $L_1$  - interference on the other ( $G \text{ gerade} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'actuality'} \\ \text{'recency'} \end{array} \right\}$ ), the students develop idiosyncratic readings of TL sentences. Thus they tend to interpret a sentence containing the EF of a bordercrossing predicate as 'immediate future': eg, X was dying = 'X was on the point of dying'. Or they see 'recent past' expressed, particularly with the expanded present perfect tense forms of both (a) telic activity and variable state predicates. These 'signal words' can also become almost 'automatic triggers' for many students; eg, for 'preferring', when the reference is to 'actual present', an ill-formed structure containing an SF and the adverbial to a well-formed and appropriate sentence containing an EF without the accompanying adverbial.
- iii) Sentences containing perfect tense forms, regardless of the SF/EF - opposition and the type of predicate involved, are very consistently interpreted as referring to situations which ceased to exist before  $PR_1$ . The clear preference for the 'resultative' reading of have + en is maintained, even when it collocates with point or scalar tensors (and despite the 'continuative' presentation of the E perfect in the pedagogic grammar they were taught with). This conceptualization of the function of the E perfect tense is probably due to the influence of their  $L_1$  ( $G \text{ 'Perfekt'} = \text{'pure past tense'}$  in DS).
- iv) There exists a certain tendency to consider sentences involving expanded perfect tense forms 'less idiomatic' than those with a SF, although rather the opposite would seem

to be true, especially with atelic activity and variable state predicates.

- v) Whereas the distinction between 'transient' and 'permanent' states (involving variable state predicates) seem to be part of the students' 'receptive competence', they have got more difficulties with the appropriate encoding of these state types.
- vi) The uncertainty as regards the inappropriateness of selecting the EF with non-variable state predicates increases from 'verbs of relation' over 'verbs of cognition' to 'verbs of perception'.
- vii) Complex sentences denoting related events are usually interpreted in at least two different ways, where the native speaker sees only one of the possible four compound situations expressed.
- viii) Over-compensation of the ing-form is also found with participial and infinitival constructions embedded into a matrix sentence with a 'verb of perception'. Regardless of the semantic implications which the choice between the two constructions has with certain predicates, the infinitival one is rejected by the vast majority of students.
- ix) Absent from the students' 'receptive competence' seem to be the agentive reading of 'non-stative' adjectives as well as the iterative interpretation of certain utterances (momentary predicates in the EF, accomplishments co-occurring with for-adverbials).

The three types of EPs employed in this study have proved themselves useful tools for eliciting some aspects of the E of G-speaking learners. It was an advantage of having combined three

different kinds of test formats and having elicited the students' responses first in open-ended tests, before submitting a more controlled version to the learners. We can make the following more general points:

- i) The students' performance in the EPs justifies the methodological claim made in § 2.2.1 that CA and EA are necessary but non-sufficient conditions for arriving at a picture of  $L_2$  learners' language. Only by eliciting learners' responses in a variety of ways we will obtain a satisfactory description of students' IL system.
- ii) Using the compound approach propagated in this study we can make certain generalizations about the 'grammar' of a specific group of  $L_2$  learners.
- iii) The students' performance in the EPs suggests the hypothesis of a productive and a receptive competence in relation to syntactic and semantic phenomena. There is, in many areas of the learners' tense and aspect usage, a marked difference between the two 'levels' of competence.
- iv) Logical and factual implication seem to be 'equally' important in the learners' conceptualization of what certain grammatical forms or sentences containing these forms denote.
- v) The learners' notions about the function of certain forms and sentences can be 'idiosyncratic'. These are readings which neither CA nor EA can predict or identify.
- vi) In certain cases  $L_2$  learners operate with a concurrent system of appropriate and inappropriate interpretations of TL-sentences (just as they operate with both ill-formed and well-formed structures at the same time). They sometimes 'see' ambiguities, which the native speaker is unable to



'detect' (the inverse is, of course, also true and probably more common: see, eg, § 5.4.4.1, Table 41).

- vii) The tense and aspect usage of this particular group of learners of E cannot be regarded 'satisfactory' (from a normative pedagogic point of view. The findings call for more than just remedial teaching in the narrow sense (one of the main justifications for EA). They strongly suggest the necessity for the presentation of 'new' learning points, or the presentation of tense and aspect matters in a 'new' framework. They ought to be part of the 'Oberstufenarbeit' of these students. The findings are immediately relevant to questions of syllabus design for the remaining three years of the grammar school E curriculum.

We admit that many of the conclusions drawn in this study are tentative or speculative. As we were primarily interested in the use of E by the group as a whole, many inconsistencies or idiosyncracies of individual learners may have escaped us, simply because the individual responses cancelled or levelled each other out in our overall treatment. What we will have to do in the future is to arrange longitudinal studies of a few individual learners, in order to obtain more conclusive results about psycholinguistic aspects of  $L_2$  learning proper. What we can probably also expect from such studies is that most of the tense and aspect usage in E (encoding and decoding) 'is already' and 'will remain' a 'fossilized' area for most G-speaking learners of E. In other words: I personally strongly doubt that 'they' (a 'satisfactory' proportion of fairly advanced learners) will 'ever' (in the 'ordinary' course of  $L_2$  instruction in G schools) have a 'real grasp' of this area of E syntax and semantics. The hypothesis is open to further investigation.

Hopefully, the subsequent suggestions for a pedagogic grammar are a first step towards averting this situation.

## 6. Towards a pedagogic grammar

### 6.1 Analysis of published pedagogic grammars

An analysis was carried out of pedagogic grammars written for German grammar school students; ie, we are not dealing here with grammars for the hand of the teacher. The results are summarized in Fig. 14.<sup>1</sup> Only those 'functions' or 'notions' are listed which are mentioned in at least one of these grammars. All the students involved in the EPs as subjects were taught on the basis of the same textbook, which, quite generally, has the widest distribution in West-German grammar schools (Learning English, Klett Verlag). Thus they had all access to the Grammatisches Beiheft issued together with this textbook and the statements contained therein. Most students were also given the more extended grammar (Grundzüge, Klett Verlag).

The two labels used for the EF in these grammars are 'Continuous' and 'Progressive'. The usage is also divided as regards 'Tense' or 'Form'. As labels matter in L<sub>2</sub> teaching, no use should be made of terms like 'Present/Past Continuous Tense', etc. 'Progressive Form' seems the most appropriate label: it denotes an event or process as

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#### 1. The following pedagogic grammars were analyzed:

- Beilhardt, K. (Hg.) (1960): Grundzüge der englischen Grammatik,  
Stuttgart: Klett
- Drager, W. & Strupp, K. (1963): The New Guide - Grammar, Frankfurt/M.:  
Diesterweg
- Kirchhoff, J. & Schnöckelborg, G. (1950): Plain English - Grammar,  
Paderborn: Schöningh
- 'Klett' (1972): Learning English, Ausgabe B, Grammatisches Beiheft,  
Teil 1 & 2, Stuttgart: Klett
- Lamprecht, A. & Friedrichs, H. (1963): Present-Day English - A short  
Pictorial Grammar, Berlin: Cornelsen
- Leonhardi, A. (1962): English Grammar, Dortmund: Lensing
- Röhr, H. & Bartels, B. (1963): The English Companion's Modern Grammar,  
Frankfurt/M.: Diesterweg

'ongoing' or 'being in progress'. Notions like 'limited duration' or 'incompleteness' (cf. Fig. 14, Klett grammars) are 'secondary' functions of the EF depending on certain contextual elements. They should not be given as the 'basic function'.

Not all the analyzed pedagogic grammars (including the ones by Klett) make explicit mention of the category 'actual present', which we could identify as requiring obligatorily the EF of the present tense with 'ongoing' (at  $PR_1$ ) (a)telic activities, processes and variable states. It is particularly important to have this category in a pedagogic grammar, because most textbooks written for G students introduce the EF of the present tense before the SF as the first 'tense' form whatsoever: cf. Lechler, as quoted in Macht 1973:368. To teach the 'actual present' before the various 'uses of the SF' would seem a good teaching strategy, as this meets the needs of young children (age in West-Berlin: 10+) for concrete operations within their immediate environment. The encoding of 'actuality' follows from the actions and variable states (especially 'verbs of posture') observed or performed by the individual (still very ego-centric) child. Furthermore, it would be a very difficult task to teach the specific function denoted by the EF once the SF has been introduced, as there is no direct formal counterpart to the EF in G. The marked member of the binary opposition should be taught first. The unmarked member covers too many 'meanings' to facilitate the correct acquisition of the specific function denoted by the marked term.

Incidence is listed in all these grammars; simultaneity (with both predicates in the EF) in all but one (the Klett Beiheft). Only one grammar mentions the possible encoding of simultaneity by means of SFs in either clause in the presence of the conjunction while. Succession is referred to in most though not all of these grammars.

	Klett: Grundzüge	New Guide	Plain English	Lensing English Grammar	English Companion	Present- Day English	Klett: Beiheft
label	EF	Continuous Form	Continuous Tense	Progressive Form	Continuous Tense	Progressive Form	Continuous Form
	SF	Ordinary Form	-	-	Simple Tense	-	Simple Form
function	EF	event of limited duration	action still continuing, incomplete	progression, partly duration, of an event	action going on or continuing for a time	progression of an event of limited duration	event in progression or (still) continuing
	SF	does not stress the duration of an event	-	-	-	-	simply denotes what happens
actual present		-	-	+	+	+	-
simultaneity	both Vs in EF	+	+	+	+	+	-
	both Vs in SF	-	-	-	-	+	-
incidence		+	+	+	+	+	+
background/ scene- setting		-	-	-	-	-	-
succession		+	+	-	-	+	+
Expanded Preterite & Time- when Adv. (period)		-	-	-	-	+	+
Momentary Vs & SF/EF	mainly use of SF	EF usually not used	EF uncommon	-	EF cannot be used	-	-
Bordercrossings & EF	-	-	-	-	= change of meaning	-	-
Vs of posture & SF/EF (permanent vs. variable)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Non-variable states & SF/EF	never with EF	never with EF	EF impossible	not used with EF	EF cannot be used	usually not with EF	I. never with EF II. usually not
Passive & EF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Passive & SF	result only	+	+	+	d.n.a.	d.n.a.	d.n.a.
	ambiguous: result/process	-	-	-	+	+	+
evaluative: EF & <u>always</u>	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
statement of fact: SF & <u>always</u>	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
emphatic use of EF	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
generic/unrestricted states & SF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
habitual utterances & SF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
perfect tense = 'bridge between past and present'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
perfect tense + EF: continuative reading	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
perfect tense & EF: resultative reading	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
perfect tense & telic predicates = result of past action	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
perfect tense & <u>just</u> = recent past	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
perfect tense & relative adverbials	<u>up to now/ so far</u>	+	-	+	+	+	+
	<u>(ever) since</u>	+	+	+	+	+	+
	<u>ever/never</u>	+	+	+	+	+	+
for- adverbials & perfect only	+	+	+	+	d.n.a.	+	+
	perfect <u>or</u> preterite	-	-	-	+	-	-
<u>this morning/</u> <u>today etc.</u> & perfect only	+	+	+	+	d.n.a.	+	+
	perfect <u>or</u> preterite	-	-	-	+	-	-

Fig. 14: Analysis of pedagogic grammars written for German grammar school students

The sentences serving as illustrations of the incidence situation only contain, for the unbounded event, atelic activity and variable state predicates. No use is made of telic predicates (bordercrossings and accomplishments) in the EF. It is, however, these cases which represent a serious learning problem for the students, as they are not 'aware' of the semantic implications which the - incorrect - selection of the SF has with these predicates (see § 5.4.2.3, Table 37). None of these grammars states the possibility of an incidence situation being realized beyond the sentence boundary.

It is certainly correct to characterize the use of the EF 'mainly' in terms of an event going on at a particular point of time. However, a pedagogic grammar must also make explicit mention of events or processes going on for a period of time. Only two of these grammars (including the Beiheft) provide an example, not an explicit statement or 'rule', of the co-occurrence of the EF of the preterite tense with a time-when adverbial denoting a period of time (last night). None gives an example of an expanded preterite tense form in collocation with a durational adverbial. This must be another reason why the adverbial 'signal words' like (just) now, at the moment, have such a strong bearing upon the students' performance.

'Momentary verbs' are mentioned in Grundzüge (and a few other grammars), though not in the Beiheft. All the examples cited are bordercrossing or momentary accomplishment predicates. The grammars restrict themselves to the comment that they are normally not used in the EF. Only one grammar gives two examples of sentences containing the predicates arrive and enter in the EF and points out the change of 'meaning' involved here. Appropriate G translations are provided. None of the grammars presents momentary activity predicates like yell or slam. The iteration of the momentary act by selecting the EF is



also not referred to. Neither do the grammars contain instances of contrasting sentences with expanded and non-expanded verb forms of accomplishment predicates. The fact that the function of the EF is semantically significant primarily with 'bounded events', especially 'telic' predicates, is never pointed out to them. This must be the main source for their learning difficulties with these predicates (see esp. §§ 5.2.1.5 and 5.4.2.3).

The difference between a transient and a permanent state involving 'verbs of posture', as denoted by sentences like The dog is lying by the fire vs. London lies on the Thames, is pointed out in only two of the grammars (not in the ones by Klett). The interpretation of sentences containing variable state predicates in the EF in terms of 'limited duration' is not clearly stated or matched by appropriate examples in any of these grammars, even where this notion is said to be the, or part of the, basic function of the EF. As can be seen from Fig. 14, the majority of these grammars is very categorical about the use of the EF with non-variable state predicates. This may explain the relatively low frequency of errors with these predicates, esp. 'verbs of relation', if they are not 'pseudomotional' in character. Only one grammar cites examples of utterances with the EF of hope, love, hate, desire, like, hear, the explanation being that we are dealing here with the 'emphatic use' of the EF.

The use of the EF in passive sentences is stated in all these grammars. The potential ambiguity of passive constructions involving the SF of accomplishment predicates is pointed out by three grammars (the others assert, incorrectly, that these sentences denote merely the result of past action). Although the Beiheft is one of the three, the vast majority of students only have the 'stative'



interpretation available to them: see § 5.4.4.1, Table 41.

The evaluative force of certain utterances involving the EF and adverbials such as always, continually is referred to in three grammars; not the Beiheft though (note the 'random choice' in the learners' performance: § 5.6.4, Table 56). Only Klett's Grundzüge attempts a contrast with the corresponding sentence containing a SF. It is always the EF which is claimed to convey the particular 'emotional meaning'.

All these grammars mention the 'generic' or 'unrestricted state' interpretation of certain utterances. As with 'habitual' occurrences only the SF is said to be possible in these contexts. The possibility of a habitual utterance involving an EF is never referred to. Neither do these grammars 'warn' the students explicitly of not encoding utterances having a generic, unrestricted state or habitual reading by means of the EF (as they do in the case of non-variable state predicates), which is, as we could see from the PA and the EPs, one of their greatest learning problems on the level of production. The authors of these pedagogic grammars are not aware of this major learning difficulty.

The perfect tense is presented to the students as a "bridge between the past and the present" (Leonhardi 1962:71). The notion of an occurrence or state 'existing' at some unidentified time prior to PR is nowhere explicitly referred to or made use of in these grammars. They do not present a unitary account of its 'meaning' but always list several functions for this tense. Most grammars have a satisfactory treatment of the use of the perfect tense in co-occurrence with relative adverbials such as up to now, so far and since. They thereby emphasize and highlight very much the 'continuative' reading of 'the perfect'. It is to have + en that

this reading is attributed, not to the interplay of various contextual elements (see the quotes below in § 6.2). Only one grammar (not Klett) points out that durational for-adverbials can collocate with either perfect or preterite tense forms; similar to relative time-when adverbials naming a period of time: today, this morning etc. However, the presence of a for-adverbial does not necessarily select a perfect tense form, and when they do collocate the interpretation is not necessarily the 'continuative' one, as all (but one) of these grammars claim. Despite these categorical assertions in the pedagogic grammar, the majority of learners conceptualize the E perfect as 'resultative', whatever the linguistic environment of this form may be ('even' with point tensors). As far as the EF of the perfect tense is concerned, it is not even mentioned by some of these grammars (we may recall the zero occurrence of this form in the CC). Where it is discussed, it is characterized as 'continuative', Klett's Grundzüge being again very rigid about its use: 'the EF of have + en is always correct with events leading up to PR<sub>1</sub>'. Only one of the seven grammars states vaguely that this form can "sometimes" be understood 'resultatively'. The idea of 'current relevance' features prominently in almost all these grammars. It is always joined with telic predicates; ie, all the examples which are said to express 'current relevance' involve bordercrossing or accomplishment predicates. Factual and semantic implication are not clearly distinguished.

Notice finally in Fig. 14 that the two Klett grammars are about the only ones which at least try to provide a 'separate' semantic characterization for the SF. Notions like 'fact' or 'non-duration' (Klett) are, however, totally inadequate. They are observationally ill-founded and pedagogically misleading.

## 6.2 General principles of the teaching strategy

The aim of a pedagogic grammar based on a linguistic analysis and an analysis of learners' 'performance' is to provide the learner with insights into the nature of his learning problems and to equip him with means to overcome these difficulties. The students should be told why the grammar of their IL fails in the realization of their communicative intentions. We could observe that the students tend to over-compensate the influence of their  $L_1$  in certain linguistic contexts: they will try to avoid what they consider 'obvious'  $L_1$  - transfers and will substitute these by what they regard as 'typical' structures of the  $L_2$ . We could also observe that some errors violate certain 'basic' rules of E tense and aspect usage; eg, errors with non-variable states, the incidence situation, the perfect-preterite distinction with adverbials of 'definite' time, etc. Other errors are more 'subtle' in that they involve different semantic implications (esp. with accomplishment predicates), or a differentiation between the 'actual present' and the generic, habitual or unrestricted state interpretation of certain utterances. We must also mention the cases in which the choice between SF and EF or preterite and perfect tense is optional, depending on the way a speaker chooses to regard a certain situation before he encodes it appropriately. A pedagogic grammar of tense and aspect usage for learners at this level of proficiency (see § 1.1 and 1.2) has to take care of both aspects, the violation of fundamental rules and the more differentiated rules of optional and obligatory usage, semantic implications, etc. This methodological approach is supported by psychological considerations. Thus Rivers (1968:208f) has distinguished two levels of  $L_2$  - behaviour:

"the level of manipulation of language elements which occur in fixed relationships in clearly defined closed systems, and a

level of expression of personal meaning at which possible variations are infinite, depending on such factors as the type of message to be conveyed, the situation in which the utterance takes place ... and the degree of intensity with which the message is conveyed". *Gramm. in FLT, HLT SL, 206-211*

A pedagogic grammar for the learning problems at hand must provide various ways and means of learning by analogy, induction, habit-formation and drill. Apart from this it must offer opportunities for analytic learning, deduction, explanations by the teacher and/or textbook and exercises requiring insight and understanding. What we need is a 'sensibilization' programme for decisions at a 'higher communicative level' as regards the use of the respective tense and aspect forms (with which the students are already 'familiar' as forms) under certain identified linguistic and situational contexts of varied complexity. As we could see in the previous section, the needs of fairly advanced learners for these kinds of decisions are grossly neglected, contrary to the large number of techniques which teachers have available for practising manipulative skills at a much lower level of proficiency. It is our firm belief that the students need, at this stage of their  $L_2$  - career (ie, with the beginning of the 'Oberstufenarbeit' in class 11), a course in the semantics of the temporal and aspectual properties of certain situations, both at sentence and discourse level. The general strategy should be, at this point, from meaning to form. The students should learn how certain 'meanings' are encoded in the TL (see § 2.2.9).

This will necessarily involve the students'  $L_1$ , in the sense already discussed in § 2.2.9, in providing 'semantic footholds' for the learners. The function of the  $L_1$  and the possible role of translation in  $L_2$  - teaching should not be seen in a dogmatic manner.

The 'direct' methods, 'situational' or 'audio lingual', do not take care of the fact that the individual student, under the conditions of the teaching situation obtaining in German schools, will continually employ his  $L_1$  as a mediating system. He learns the  $L_2$  as a system of equivalents to the forms and structures of his  $L_1$ . To disregard the positive and negative effects of the existing contrastivity between SL and TL would be uneconomical, and this is an important criterion in a pragmatic discipline like  $L_2$  pedagogy. The problem of the mediating role of the  $L_1$  in the classroom, given the 'compound setting' (Jakobovits 1969:63), can be reduced to the question of whether the teacher provides 'open' mediation or not. We should be careful with statements like:

"There is no Progressive Form in G, we only know the Simple Form"

(translated from Klett's Beiheft 1972:13). It would be nonsense to assert, eg, that the notion of 'ongoingness' does not 'exist' in G (cf. the use of adverbials, locative constructions, or different lexicalizations), or that G does not have anything like the 'continuative or resultative perfect' (cf. Präsens + schon vs. Perfekt). The pedagogic grammar, just like the linguistic description, must be neutral to the grammaticalization or lexicalization of the semantic distinctions involved. In those cases where we have contrastive encodings, examples can be taken first from G and then from E, such that students gradually internalize the different realizations of the underlying semantic principles. They will then become 'aware' how they are 'distinguished' inter- and intralingually, which will eventually give them an understanding of the nature of their errors. In accordance with the principle of continual change between inductive and deductive learning, analogy, transformation and selection exercises should alternate with explanations by the teacher, translations of contextualized utterances,

role-playing, etc. The data gained from the PA and EPs can be fed back immediately into the pedagogic grammar.

No matter how careful the initial presentation and the subsequent drilling of the EF/SF contrast was, the students will continue to make comparisons. They will wonder why or why not the one form is selected rather than the other (or why perhaps either is acceptable). They will want to know on what principles they can decide which form is to be selected. The problem is essentially a semantic one. What is lacking here, I think, is a pedagogically adequate 'metalanguage', which allows teachers and students to 'talk about' the phenomena observed in the SL and TL (specially when more than one  $L_2$  are learnt). With young learners it is justified to start from the forms together with the corresponding 'signal words'. The students we are dealing with in this study are 'ready' for a rationally oriented confrontation with the semantic principles involved in the E tense and aspect usage. One of the most disappointing experiences in learning an  $L_2$  is the conscious or semi-conscious 'knowledge' that one has not entirely grasped the 'meaning' of a lexeme or the function of a grammatical form, and that its appropriate use will probably remain elusive (and the results of the EPs suggest this). The students will have to be confronted with identified learning problems which are sequentially ordered, as these are eventually easier to master than a rather nebulous and general definition of the 'various uses' of the forms in question. The psychological value of such a procedure is that reinforcement can be given more often and at clearly defined stages.

The strategy to be employed can be illustrated by an example quoted by Ferguson (1971:148) in the context of 'simplicity' in language:



"Thus a speaker who learns Handschuh as a monomorphemic lexical item meaning 'glove' may later identify it as Hand plus Schuh in a compound-word construction".

The pedagogic grammars discussed in § 6.1 present 'compound' definitions of the functions of the various forms, eg:

- i) "The Progressive Form denotes that an action or state of only limited duration is happening or incomplete at a particular point of reference" (translated from Brinkmann 1966:123).
- ii) "The simple present tense is used to express 1. a statement or a fact that is true at all times; 2. an action that is often repeated, a habit or a custom ..." (Leonhardi 1962:70).
- iii) "The present perfect is used 1. for an action that is just finished; 2. for an action that began in the past and continues in or into the present; 3. for an action that was finished in the past, if its effect or consequences still continue at the present moment" (Leonhardi 1962:71).

We saw that the individual 'components' or 'connotations' which are specified in these compound definitions can take on a contrastive and (to the native or bilingual competence) 'contradictory' or 'idiosyncratic' value in the learners' conceptualization of what a specific form denotes in a particular context. The thing to be done therefore is to set up an ordered, sequential course of learning points to be mastered, where the various 'derivative meanings' follow more or less strictly from the basic function, given the incorporation of specific linguistic and pragmatic factors. In other words, starting with the basic function of the EF, the various 'secondary' functions are to be isolated in identified linguistic and situational contexts. This is also to remove the functional load (cf. Crystal 1966:6) which

is usually associated with certain grammatical forms in pedagogic grammars (see quotes above). It could not be justified, in a 'remedial programme' for this area, to teach a specific form by correlating it with some vague or far too complex temporal-aspectual notion, in isolation from the contextual information given by the rest of the clause, complex sentence or discourse.

### 6.3 A sketch of a possible approach

According to the PA and the EPs the major points of difficulty are 1. generic, unrestricted state and habitual utterances; 2. telic predicates; 3. related events; 4. the perfect tense. These learning problems will feature prominently in the subsequent proposals. We suggest to proceed as follows:

#### 6.3.1 Towards the conceptualization of the notion of 'bounded' vs. 'unbounded events'

We will continue to use these terms even for the pedagogic grammar, as they seem to be the only (appropriate) ones which are still open to the conceptualization of a 'new' idea without having certain other connotations associated with them; as is the case with 'perfective' vs. 'imperfective', 'complete' vs. 'incomplete', 'act performed' vs. 'act being performed' (cf. Close 1962).

The idea of the life cycle: a) phases: come into existence (be born), be in existence (be alive), go out of existence (die);  
b) synoptic view: s.o.'s life seen in its entirety (eg, He was a good man. His life was long and full of ...); graphic representation:<sup>1</sup>



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1. Many of the diagrams suggested here are based on Close (1962), who has a fairly good discussion of this area.

The idea of a locative journey (see § 4.6.2): a) unrestricted state: The Royal Miles goes from the Castle to Holyrood Palace; b) phases: be at A, leave ('begin to walk'), walk towards ('in progress', 'ongoing', 'goal-directed'), reach/arrive at B ('finish walking'), be at B - stop/cease between A and B; c) synoptic view: X went from A to B; d) graphic representation:

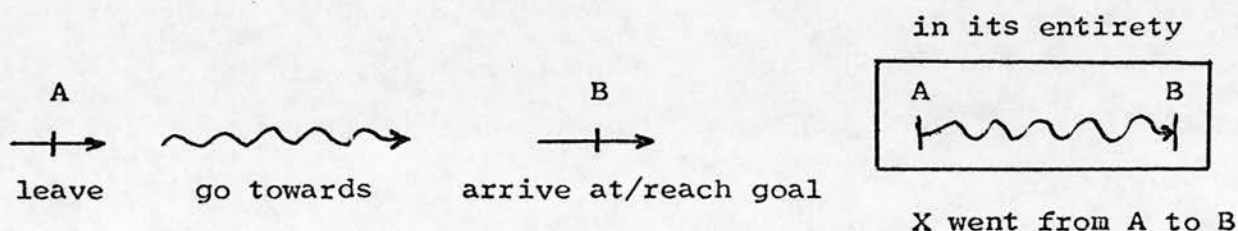


Fig. 15: Phases and synoptic view of a locative journey

The idea of an existential journey (see § 4.6.2): a) unrestricted state: X builds cottages (= 'He runs this kind of business', 'X is a building contractor'); b) phases: no cottage exists, X begins to build a cottage, X is building a cottage ('in progress', 'ongoing', 'goal-directed'), X finishes building a cottage, a cottage exists; c) synoptic view: X built a cottage; d) graphic representation:

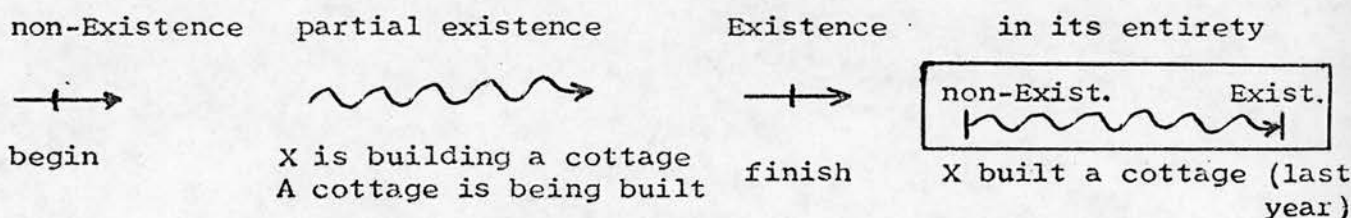


Fig. 16: Phases and synoptic view of an existential journey

Bounded vs. unbounded event: The bounded events which we have met so far are: (i) (momentary) bordercrossings ('Grenzübertritt'): inception, cessation, termination in their respective lexicalizations: begin/start, stop/cease/quit, finish, leave/depart, arrive at/reach, be born, die, etc. Syntactic test: incompatibility with bordercrossing aktionsarten: \* He began/stopped/finished to arrive, (ii) a durative

event seen in its entirety/as a whole.

Rule 1: Bounded events are not regarded as ongoing/in progress.

Bounded events can only be encoded by using a SF,<sup>1</sup> the EF cannot be used. Unbounded events are regarded as ongoing/in progress: X is/was walking towards B, X is/was building a cottage, A cottage is/was being built. The ongoing activities denoted by these sentences are goal-directed.

Rule 2: Unbounded events are usually encoded by an EF, because the EF denotes the ongoingness of an event (phase of progression).

Rule 3: A syntactic test for bounded events is the co-occurrence with in-adverbials (or: it took X ...), tests for unbounded events are the co-occurrence with for-adverbials (or: X spent ...) and continue.

#### 6.3.2 'Actuality' vs. generic and unrestricted state utterances

This section will provide the first part of the answer to the question why rule 2 contains the qualification 'usually'. We begin with the identification of the readings of certain G utterances in referring to 'actuality' as opposed to the generic and unrestricted state interpretation:

(10.1) Komm zum Kaffeetrinken, Heinz. Das Wasser kocht.

(10.2) Merksatz im Physikbuch: Wasser kocht bei 100°.

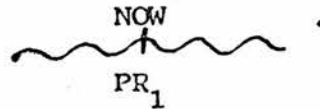
(10.3) A: 'Mach bloss das Radio leiser. Das ist doch  
Drafi Deutscher, der da singt'.

B: 'Nein, das ist Elvis. Der singt echten Rock'n'Roll,  
und das mag ich'.

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1. This is not to say that all sentences containing a SF denote bounded events; cf. non-variable states and optional usage of either SF or EF with unbounded events. In order to be able to handle this latter phenomenon we need the notion of an unbounded event first in a pedagogic grammar.

Graphic representation of an unbounded event which is in progress at the moment of speaking ('actuality'):



We point out the use of adverbials (jetzt, eben, gerade) or locative constructions (beim Schreiben/an der Arbeit sein) in G, as well as the obligatory use of the EF in E. We note the difference between X is singing/the water is boiling and X is walking towards B/X is building a cottage: both are ongoing durative events, the ones in the first group could be prolonged 'indefinitely' ('not goal-directed'/'nicht-grenzbezogen'), the ones in the second group have a goal and cannot be prolonged once the goal is reached ('goal-directed but non-terminative activity'/'grenzbezogene Handlung, ohne dass die Grenze erreicht ist'). Further examples in G and E are given.

Rule 4: An event which is in progress at the moment of speaking (= PR<sub>1</sub>) must be encoded in the EF ('actual present', 'actuality').

Rule 5: We can distinguish activities which have no implied goal ('not goal-directed') and those that are 'goal-directed'. If the latter occur in the EF, the goal has not been reached yet ('non-terminative').

Rule 6: Utterances referring to situations which are true for 'all' time (generic or unrestricted state interpretation) require the SF, as these states of affairs are not regarded as ongoing.

Methodological considerations: The predicates to be selected should be durative activity and accomplishment predicates as well as variable state predicates (verbs of posture; run, sing, rain, dance, smile; write a letter, read a book, knit a sweater, etc). They can be easily contextualized. The corresponding activities and variable states are to be situationalized by role-playing, the use of dynamic pictures or, better still, movie films. To be avoided are pictures or wall charts



depicting static situations. So are accomplishment predicates like switch on, turn off, sit down, close/shut the window/book, as they are difficult to be conceptualized as denoting ongoing events. We can point to the different lexicalization or the use of copula structures of unrestricted states in G, as opposed to the 'actual present'. Erroneous examples from the learners' CC are an enrichment of the methodological apparatus in  $L_2$ -pedagogy, because they allow the learner to find the correct generalizations for himself. He can continually test his hypothesis about the intrastructural logic (or non-logic) of the  $L_2$ , in complementation to  $L_1 : L_2$  contrasts. We also distinguish  $NOW_{point}$  and  $NOW_{period}$ , ie, 'actual present' and 'limited duration':

(10.4) He is singing just now.

(10.5) He is singing these days/now.

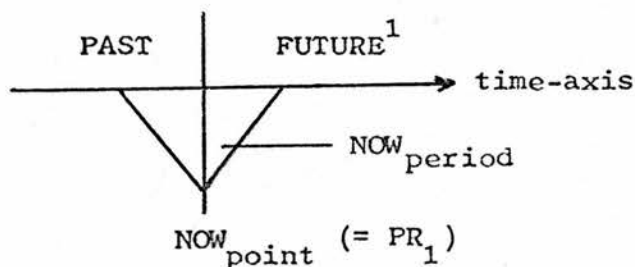


Fig. 17:  $NOW_{point}$  and  $NOW_{period}$

The notion of a bounded event can be clarified by pointing out those contexts in which the EF cannot be employed in E, even when the reference is to events taking place at  $PR_1$ , because they are not conceptualized as ongoing by the speaker. Rather they are seen in their entirety. Examples are the 'coincidence situation' (Koschmieder

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1. Use should be made, wherever possible, of capital letters for semantic notions, of small letters for syntactic terms.



1965, Austin's performative utterances: see § 5.3.5) and the 'step-by-step' descriptions (see § 5.6.2.2). They can be easily situationalized (role-playing).

Rule 7: The EF cannot be selected for utterances where the saying is the doing of the act ('coincidence': I pronounce you man and wife) and for step-by-step descriptions: commentaries, demonstrations, reviews, descriptions, historic present (cf. G). These events are seen as bounded, the SF is required.

### 6.3.3 Unbounded events in the preterite tense

This section will provide the second part of the answer to the question why rule 2 is modified by 'usually'. Repetition of the rule for the use of the preterite tense in E (if time-when adverbials are overtly stated or implicitly understood), sensibilization by means of erroneous and non-erroneous examples from the students' CC. The notion 'identified' time can be illustrated as follows (cf. Close 1962:89):

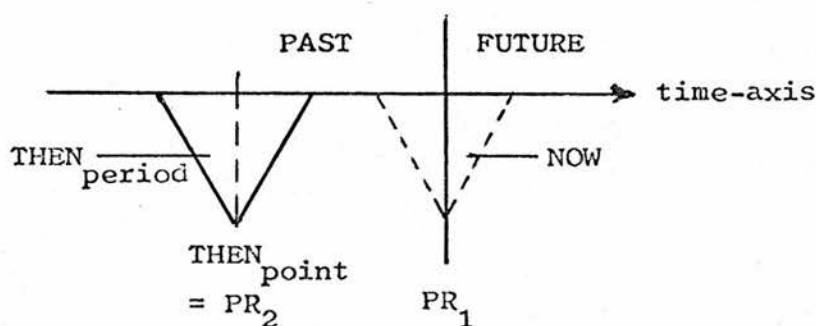


Fig. 18:  $THEN_{point}$  and  $THEN_{period}$  ('identified time').

Activity at an identified point in the past requires the EF, the speaker is primarily interested in the agent's activity at  $THEN_{point}$ . The activity must have started before this point and will probably continue afterwards too:

(10.6) John was singing at 12 o'clock.

If the unbounded activity is 'limited in duration' (avoid expressions like 'temporally bounded'!) because of the presence of a durational for-adverbial, either SF or EF can be selected:

(10.7) He {was singing} {all afternoon  
sang for three hours  
from two till five  
between two and five}

We suggest the following diagrams:

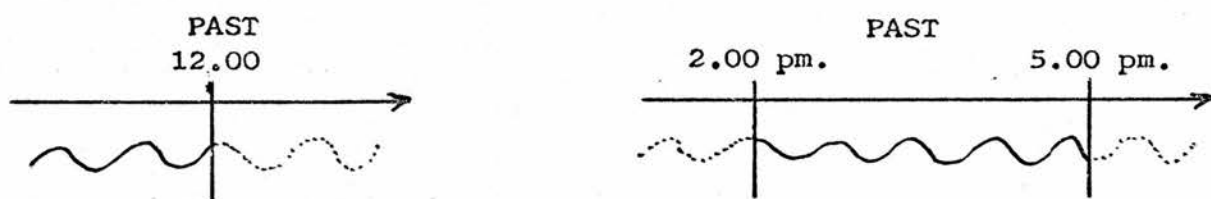


Fig. 19: Unbounded events in progress at a point or throughout a limited period of time at an identified time in the past.

Rule 8: If the reference is to an identified point of time in the past at which an activity was in progress (= unbounded event), the EF must be used (the selection of the SF implies here 'inception').

Rule 9: If the reference is to an identified but limited period of time in the past, during which an activity was in progress (= unbounded event), the EF is the preferred form to be selected. The SF can, however, also be used.

Methodological considerations: These structures can be extensively practised by means of a time-table. Questions and answers are exchanged between teacher/students - students:

7 am.	8	10	12	1 pm.	3	4	6 pm.
I was eating break-fast	I was working at school	I was sitting at the dentist's	I was having lunch	I was playing football	I was doing the shopping	I was watching TV	

Fig. 20: Time-table for practising the encoding of unbounded events in progress at a point or throughout a limited period of time

#### 6.3.4 Compound situations

This time the time-table is employed to illustrate the occurrence of momentary (bounded) events requiring the SF:

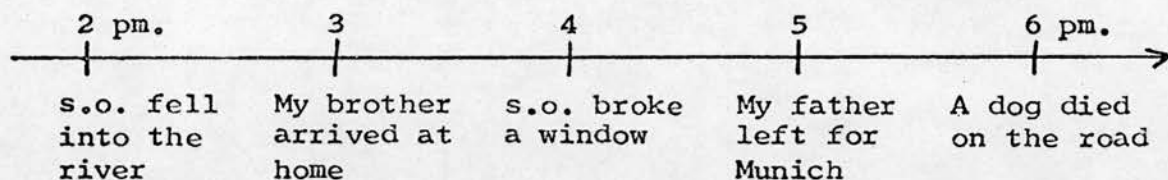


Fig. 21: Time-table for practising the encoding of bounded events

A game is played ('accusation and defence'):

(10.8) Teacher: At two o'clock you arrived at your house, Peter.

Pupil: No, I was playing football at 2 o'clock/ between 1 and 3.

Variations are possible by selecting different situations: car/bicycle race, space flight, etc. All these exercises lead to the incidence pattern, with particular emphasis on realising this situation beyond the sentence boundary:

(10.9) My father left Munich, when I was playing football.

(10.10) I took a piece from the cake, when my mother was watching TV.

Simultaneity can be practised by comparing the individual time-tables of two students. Succession can be situationalized by role-playing or movie films, where the situations consist of acts which are most typically performed one after the other, eg, shopping in a supermarket, buying a train ticket, etc. The various compound situations are to be related to each other, eg:

(10.11) X was waiting while Y was doing the shopping. When

Y came out of the shop, they left. Z had crossed the road and was now following them ...

Rule 10: If a bounded event takes place while another unbounded one is in progress, the first has to be encoded by a SF, the second one by an EF: incidence situation.

Rule 11: If two unbounded events are in progress at the same time, they can be encoded by either EF or SF (four possibilities), provided as or while are used as conjunctions. If the conjunction when is selected at least one EF ought to be present.

Rule 12: If two bounded events are linked by when, they are understood as following each other in succession. The SF has to be used in both clauses.

The following diagrams can illustrate these four compound situations:

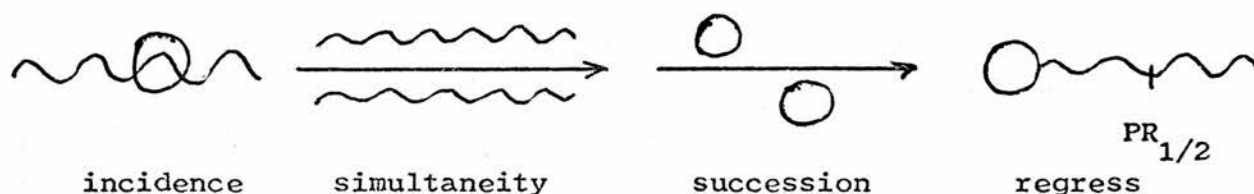


Fig. 22: Compound situations

#### 6.3.5 Bordercrossing predicates & SF/EF

Methodological considerations: role-playing by the teacher, 'reporter' at the airport, station, harbour, an athletics race, a bullfight - first in G, then in E. Emphasis on the different lexicalizations for 'approach to transition' and actual momentary bordercrossing in G: win a race ('führen'/gewinnen'), die ('im Sterben liegen'/'versterben'), etc. Use of tape recordings: 'hunt' for main verbs in the E version (& SF or EF) and their encodings in G. We suggest the following diagrams:

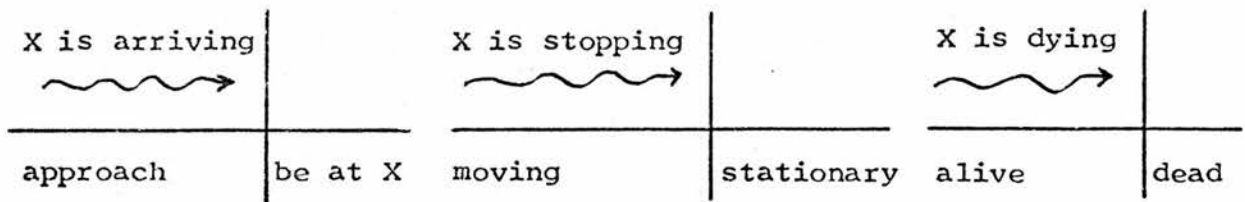
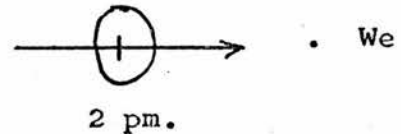


Fig. 23: Bordercrossing predicates & EF: 'approach to transition'

Rule 13: Bordercrossing predicates like arrive, stop, die, etc. can occur in the EF (= unbounded/ongoing events). They then denote the approach towards the final bordercrossing (= change between two states). If you want to express the approach to transition you must use the EF. - Note: You can say: He was dying for five hours.

Rule 14: If these bordercrossing predicates occur in the SF, they denote the transition into a new state:



therefore understand X (has) arrived/died/stopped as: 'X is at a certain place/stationary/dead'. If you want to express this transition (= bounded event), you must use the SF. - Note: You say: He died in two hours.

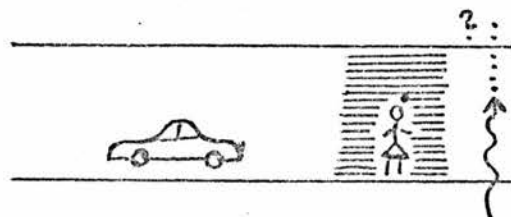
#### 6.3.6 Incidence with telic predicates

We provide newspaper headlines: Boy fell on the rails, Bomb found on a plane, etc. These events (= bounded ones) turned out to be 'catastrophies' because something else was going on at the same time (incidence):

(10.12) A boy fell on the rails when a train was stopping/arriving.

(10.13) A bomb was found on a plane and a struggle started when it was arriving at Heathrow Airport.

More headlines, more catastrophies. How did they happen? The pictures will help you:



- (10.14) Car knocked old woman down on zebracrossing.
- (10.15) Train hit car on level-crossing.
- (10.14a) An old woman was crossing the road when a car knocked her down.
- (10.15a) A car was passing the level-crossing when a train hit it.

This can be illustrated as follows:



Fig. 24: Incidence with goal-directed predicates

A possible variation is a game with the students being judges hearing a case and evaluating the defendants' and witnesses' statements, which are crucial to the proceedings, because the culprit must have reached the goal in order to commit the crime, or the witness must have been close to the location of the event to make a fair statement, etc:

- (10.16) The police found a corpse in the Castle. - Defendant:  
I was walking to the Castle when I met Dave. We were both hungry, and so we went to Dave's place, where I stayed all night.
- (10.17) S.o. got stabbed in his bedroom on the top floor of his house. - Witness: I heard the defendant come home. He went into the kitchen and had s.th. to eat. Then he entered the hall. I heard him going upstairs. Suddenly there came loud yelling from the top floor. I rushed out and saw ...
- (10.18) S.o. was attacked right in the middle of the Meadows. - Witness: I left the library and crossed the Meadows,



when I saw s.o. attack another person. I stopped and looked at the two struggling. I am sure the attacker was the defendant ...

Rule 15: If you want to express the ongoingness of someone's approach towards a transition or a goal when another bounded event takes place (= incidence), you must use the EF for the first event and the SF for the second.

Rule 16: If you use the EF with a predicate which implies a goal, the subject is understood as not having reached the goal yet: incompleteness or goal-directed but non-terminative activity (= unbounded event).

Rule 17: The use of the SF with goal-directed activities denotes that the goal was reached. The event is seen in its entirety (= bounded). They co-occur with in - adverbials [for diagrams, see Fig. 15 & 16]. The idea of 'incompleteness' which is felt with telic predicates in the EF can perhaps be illustrated in the following way (by giving a graphic representation of Hockett's notion of 'temporal contour'):

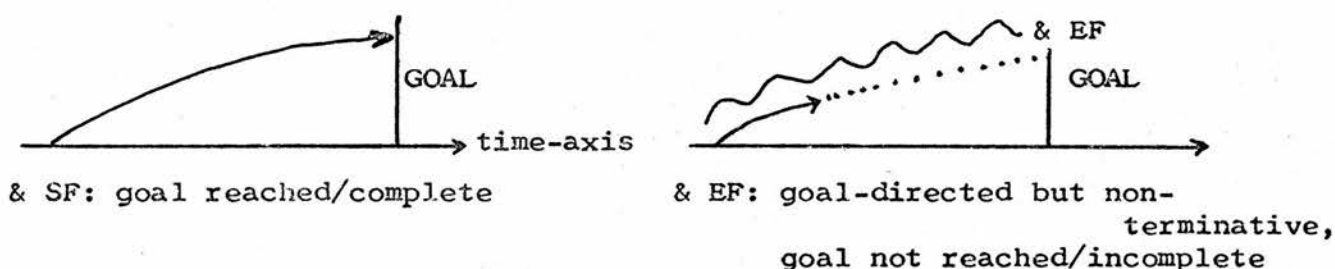


Fig. 25: Temporal contour with goal-directed activities

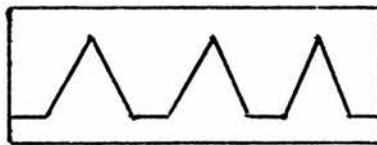
### 6.3.7 Iteration

Role-playing by the teacher. He performs momentary activity events once and repeatedly, use of appropriate adverbials in G (nod, knock, slam, etc). He has also instructed a number of pupils to 'arrive' one after the other, ie, enter the classroom. He then welcomes

them as guests. In order to indicate the bi-directional nature of (most) momentary activities, we can make use of the following diagrams:



momentary act  
performed once



momentary act  
repeated an absolute  
number of times

John knocked/yelled (once).

John knocked/yelled three times.

Fig. 26: Momentary acts performed an absolute number of times (= bounded events)

Similarly we have bounded events like John arrived and Three guests arrived. The SF is required here too (bordercrossing predicates). Unbounded events of unspecified duration (choice of EF is obligatory) or limited duration (choice of EF is optional) can be represented as follows:

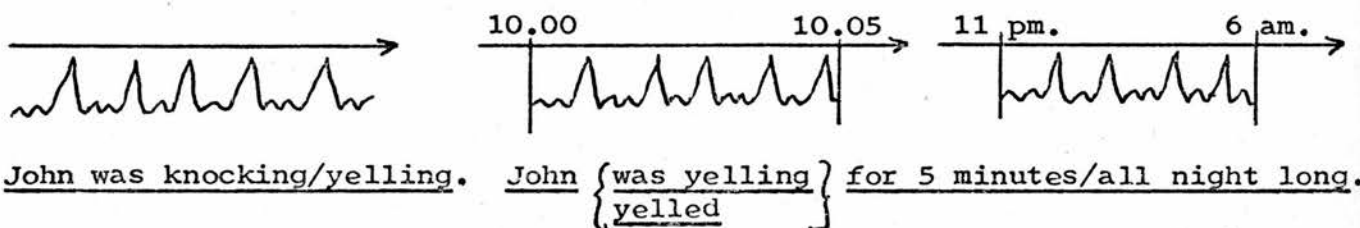


Fig. 27: Momentary acts repeated an indefinite number of times (= unbounded events)

Similarly we can get unbounded events with bordercrossings if there is an unbounded nominal as the subject, either SF or EF can be employed: Guests {were arriving} {arrived} all evening. Whereas with activity predicates the momentary event is repeated an indefinite number of times by the same agent, the 'same' bordercrossing event is iterated by an indefinite number of different participants. Both types of events are, however, unbounded and have the same properties in relation to the optional EF - SF selection. Additional exercise: contrasting the absolute and the indefinite number of occurrences (encoding of

teachers' or students' role-playing):

(10.19) She was tapping her pencil on the table. I got so furious that I got up and slammed the door.

(10.20) She was clapping her hands. Eventually I got so furious that I shouted three times.

(10.21) She {was winking  
winked} at me for ten minutes. Finally I got so nervous that I hiccupped 20 times.

Rule 18: Momentary acts which occur an absolute number of times are bounded events. They require the SF.

Rule 19: If the momentary act is repeated an indefinite number of times and is thereby conceptualized as being prolonged for an indefinite period of time (= ongoing event), the EF has to be used.

Rule 20: If the EF is used with a predicate denoting a momentary activity it is understood as having taken place several times.

Rule 21: If the repetition of the momentary act is understood as lasting only a limited period of time (co-occurrence with for-adverbials) either EF or SF can be used (= unbounded event in progress for a limited period of time).

As far as the iterative interpretation of certain utterances involving accomplishment propositions as nuclei is concerned we suggest first the 'sensibilization' for the ambiguity in He read the Times (for two hours vs. in two hours). Similarly with She knitted a sweater for 5 hours/in 5 days. Events like these can easily be contextualized by role-playing (teacher), the use of a clock/calendar and appropriate 'objects of result'. Then we can proceed to give an interpretation to utterances like: He played the Pathetique for two hours.

Rule 22: If a goal-directed activity is known to be accomplished within a certain period of time, and if the period of time denoted by

the accompanying for-adverbial is larger than the former, the event is understood to have occurred several times (= repetition).

### 6.3.8 Habitual interpretation

Drawing upon inappropriate and appropriate utterances from the learners' CC we will aim at the students' sensibilization for the habitual interpretation. In particular we will try to make them recognise the linguistic markers of the habitual occurrence of an event (adverbials like every day, always, often, whenever, etc) or their derivability from the context. But we will also have to consider the occurrence of EFs in habitual utterances and state the conditions under which this is possible. Note the following diagrams:

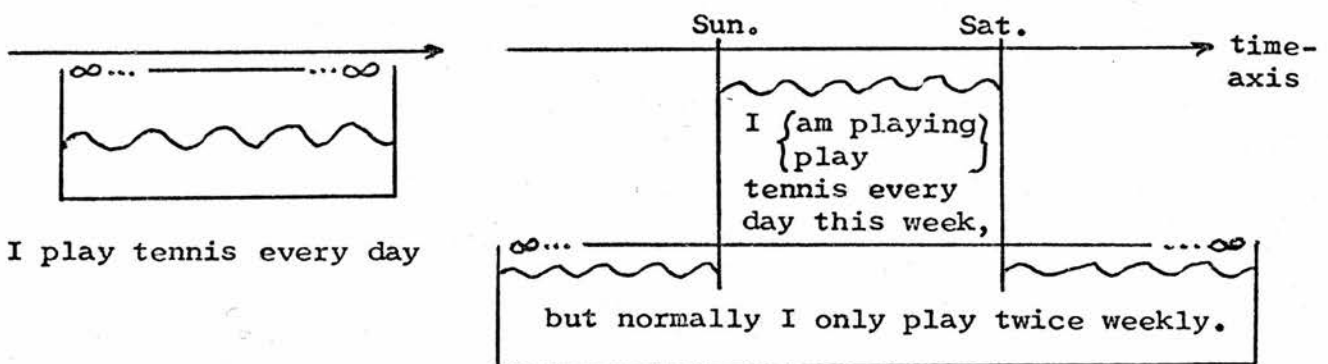


Fig. 28: Habitual utterances & SF/EF

Rule 23: If an event is seen as occurring regularly, without a change of this 'habit' being conceptualized, the SF must be used: 'habitual present'. The event referred to is not seen as ongoing. These are general statements of fact. Adverbs like every day, always, often, whenever, etc. are either present or understood from the context.

Rule 24: If the regular occurrence of an event is seen in contrast to another state of affairs, ie, if the 'habit' is limited to a certain period of time, the EF can be employed. Note the presence of 'contrastive' adverbials like this week, last year, at the moment, now vs. normally, usually, in general, etc.

### 6.3.9 Variable and non-variable states

Close (1962:77) has aptly stated the guiding principle for this section: "Here the teacher must distinguish between helpful advice and absolute statement. He would be justified in advising his pupils not to use know, remember etc. in the -ing form of the verb, until they are more advanced. He would be wrong in obliging them to learn the 'rule' that these words are not used in the Present Continuous Tense at all". What is needed here is the relativization of the 'rule' that predicates denoting a permanent state ('Dauerzustand') do not take the EF (see Fig. 14, non-variable states). We will also have to state the conditions under which the expansion of these predicates is possible. This will be done largely by explanations on the part of the teacher (see the discussion in § 5.5.5 - 5.5.9). 'Grading' these predicates in relation to the degree with which they resist expansion may be helpful. Use can be made of the different realizations of the SF - EF opposition in G. It is hoped that the notion of variability represents the unifying semantic principle by which we can explain the occurrence of the EF with these predicates to the learners.

Rule 25: Verbs of posture, like activity predicates, require the EF if the reference is to the 'actuality' of the state. If the sentence denotes a permanent state the SF must be used. Note: The cat is lying by the fire vs. London lies on the Thames.

Rule 26: It is true that verbs of perception, emotion, cognition and relation do not normally take the EF but the SF, because they do not denote ongoing events or processes but states regarded as permanent or non-variable. The choice of the EF is determined by the principle of variability. Note: The Mona Lisa looks beautiful (permanent state) vs. The castle is looking beautiful tonight/Mary, you are looking beautiful tonight (transient states), etc.

### 6.3.10 The English perfect

6.3.10.1 Retrospection and propection: Teacher provides examples of discursive and narrative discourse, the notions of zero tense, retrospection and propection are differentiated (cf. Nehls 1974:48 and again Close 1962):

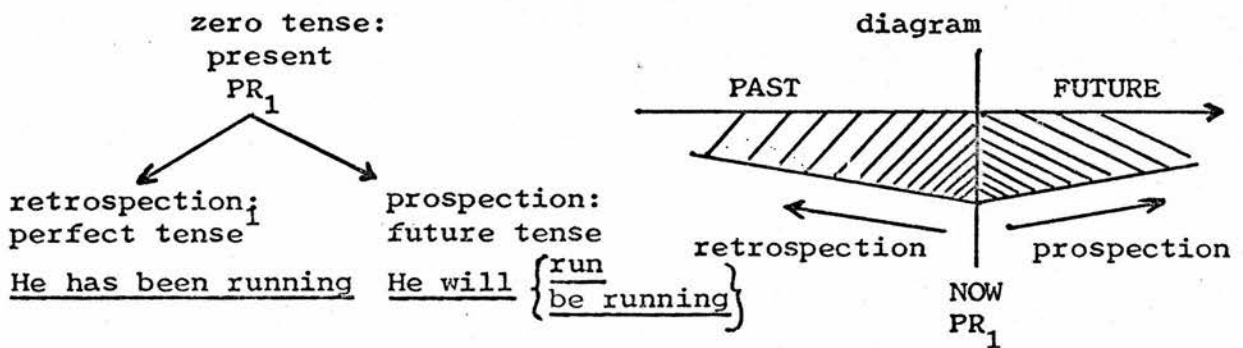


Fig. 29: Retrospection and propection in DS

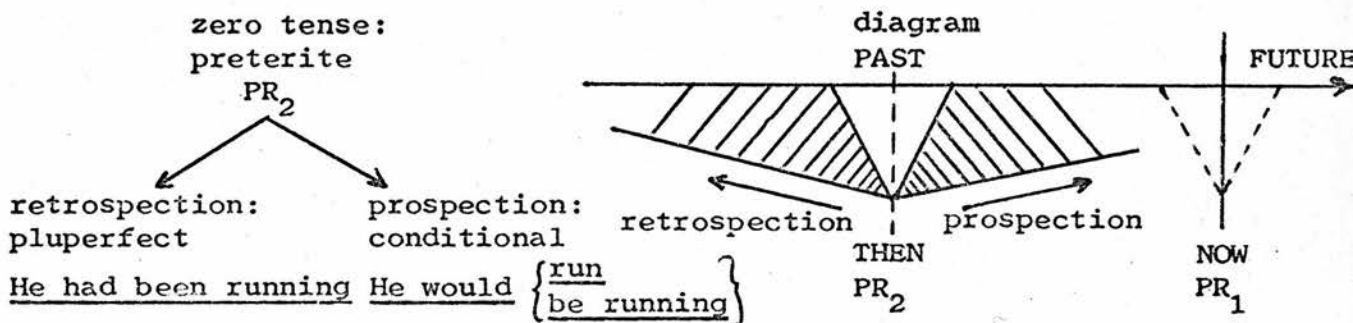


Fig. 30: Retrospection and propection in NS

Rule 27: The use of the preterite tense depends on the conceptualization of an identified time in the past; hence the obligatory selection with

1. The label 'perfect' for this tense form is not entirely satisfactory, as it has additional connotations. A pedagogically less misleading one is 'pre-present'. Similarly: 'pre-preterite' for the pluperfect, 'pre-future' for the future perfect and 'future in the past' for the conditional (cf. Close 1962).



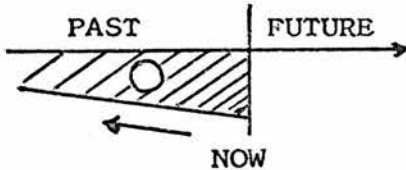
time-when adverbials of 'identified' time.

Rule 28: The perfect tense is employed when the event or state is regarded as having been in existence at some unidentified time in the period leading up to  $PR_1$  or  $PR_2$  respectively.

Rule 29: The use of the perfect tense does not always denote that the event or state continued up to now/then. Some utterances containing a perfect tense form are understood resultatively (event/state stopped before now/then), some continuatively (event/state continues till now/then). The latter reading depends on the presence of adverbials like up to now, so far, since, in my life. These sentences are translated into G by means of Präsens & (schon) seit. For the resultative reading G employs the Perfekt.

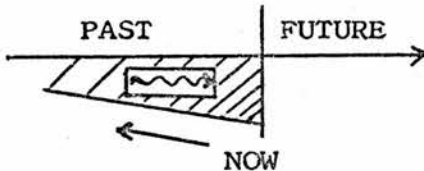
#### 6.3.10.2 Resultative reading = 'event/state stopped before now/then'

a)




I have been to Canada once.  
Ich bin einmal in Kanada gewesen.  
I have run a mile in 5 minutes, but I couldn't do it now (Close 1962:83).  
I have owned a Mini twice since 1964, but I haven't got one now.  
(see rule 27)

b)



I have (just) written a letter.  
Ich habe einen Brief geschrieben.  
John has left.  
John has bought a watch.  
Dave has persuaded Mary to do Z.

Rule 30: If a bounded event  implying a goal happened at some unidentified time in the past, the SF of the perfect tense is to be employed. The goal is understood as having been reached. Note: If emphasis is to be put on the recency of the occurrence, adverbials like just and recently can be inserted.

Rule 31: The idea of results, effects or consequences obtaining at  $PR_1$ , which is often expressed in sentences or discourses containing a

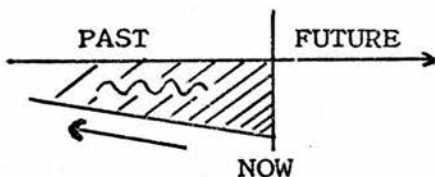
perfect tense form, is not part of the meaning of the perfect. It is either a consequence of the fact that the predicate is a goal-directed one (= 'goal has been reached') or a matter of knowledge of the world. - Examples:

John has bought a watch. Here it is. It is new.

John has {climbed Mt. X  
run for 2 hours} . He is tired now.

The use of the perfect, even in these sentences, is governed by the idea of 'unidentified time'.

c)

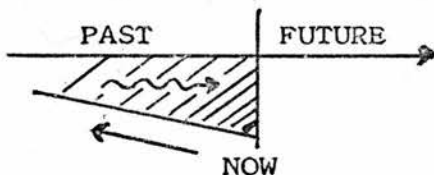


It has been raining.  
Es hat geregnet.  
I have been singing.  
He has been sitting by the fire.

Rule 32: It is more idiomatic E to use the EF of the perfect tense with an unbounded event (which does not imply a goal) that occurred at some unidentified time in the past, ie, stopped before now/then.

Note: Frequently the occurrence is understood to have stopped recently, eg: 'Look! The street is wet'. - 'Yes, it has (just) been raining. It only stopped five minutes ago'.

d)



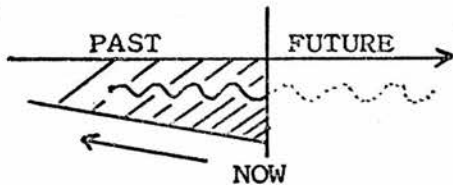
Who has been eating my dinner?  
Wer hat von meinem Essen gegessen?  
She has been painting this picture.  
Sie hat an diesem Bild gemalt.

Rule 33: Unbounded but goal-directed events can also be understood as having been in progress for some time and as having stopped before now/then. The EF of the perfect tense has to be selected here, because the goal has not been reached yet (there is still something of the food left, there is still something to be done at the picture, etc.). The use of the SF would imply that the goal has been attained (ie, someone has eaten all the food, the picture is finished, etc.: see rule 30).

### 6.3.10.3 Continuative reading = 'event/state continuing till now/then'

Rule 34: The continuative reading of utterances containing a perfect tense form depends on the presence of adverbials such as: since, for the last/past 12 months, up to now, all my life, this week, today, etc. They are all related to PR, ie, they denote a period stretching up to PR.

a)



I have {been living} here {for 5 years now}.

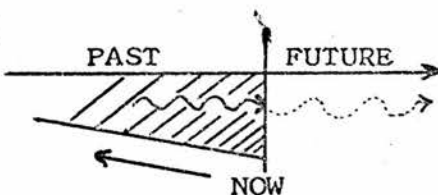
Ich wohne (schon) {seit 5 Jahren} hier.

She has {been dancing} for the last two hours.

Sie tanzt (jetzt) (schon) seit zwei Stunden.

Rule 35: With an unbounded event (which does not imply a goal) that is understood as continuing up to now/then it is more idiomatic E to select the EF of the perfect tense, although the SF can be employed too. The event may but need not continue beyond PR.

b)



She has {been knitting} this sweater for 2 days now.

Sie strickt (jetzt) (schon) seit 2 Tagen an diesem Pullover.

They have {been sailing} around the world since January (now).

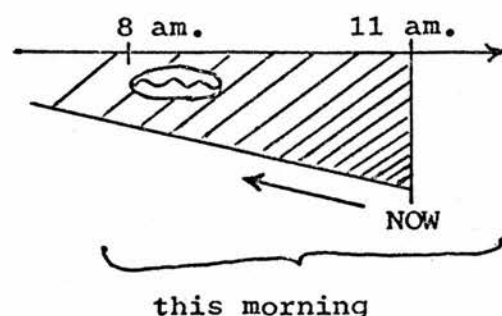
Sie sind (jetzt) (schon) seit Januar auf ihrer Weltumsegelung.

Rule 36: With an unbounded event implying the approach to a goal either EF or SF can be used, if the ongoing activity is understood as continuing up to now/then. However, the selection of the EF is again more idiomatic E, because it marks the ongoing goal-directed activity clearly as non-terminative at PR.

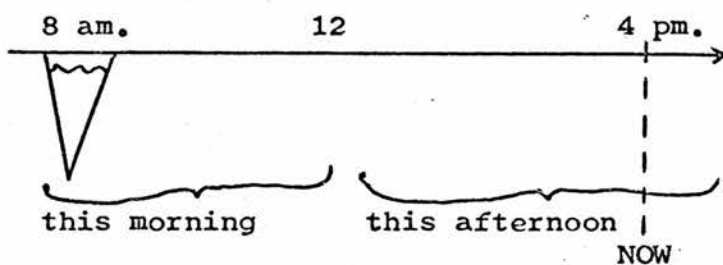
### 6.3.10.4 Perfect or preterite with for-adverbials; today, this morning

The choice between perfect and preterite tense with relative adverbials like today, this morning, etc, which depends on the moment

of speaking, can be represented as follows:



I have run for one hour this morning.



I ran for one hour this morning.

With either PR the speaker could have encoded this event by means of I have been running for one hour this morning. Similar diagrams can be employed for situations of limited duration involving durational for-adverbials: I (have) lived in Edinburgh for four years of my life. The speaker can conceptualize this situation either as having obtained at an unidentified time in the past but in a period stretching up to  $PR_1$ , or as being separated from  $PR_1$ .

Rule 37: Adverbials like for, this morning, today, etc. need not necessarily co-occur with a perfect tense form. If the event or state is seen as having existed at an identified time in the past, which is thought of being separated from now, the SF of the preterite tense can be selected. The EF of the perfect tense is also possible (= 'resultative reading': see rule 32).

### 6.3.11 The evaluative force

The teacher introduces activities of his pupils which are annoying to him. The students find other situations which are irritating to them or human beings in general. Particular emphasis is put on the intonation and paralinguistic features, esp. facial expressions.

Rule 30: Situations which tend to be annoying to human beings are usually expressed by the EF (in denoting the dynamic aspect of an ongoing event) and adverbials like always, continually, for ever, etc. Important are also intonation and facial expressions.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

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ELT	English Language Teaching
ES	English Studies
EWPL	Edinburgh Working Papers in Linguistics
FL	Foundations of Language
Gen Ling	General Linguistics
IRAL	International Review of Applied Linguistics
JL	Journal of Linguistics
LB	Linguistische Berichte
Lg	Language
Ling Inqu	Linguistic Inquiry
Lingua	Lingua
LL	Language Learning
Man	Man
MLJ	Modern Language Journal
Mu	Muttersprache
Neuph M	Neuphilologische Monatsschrift
NM	Neusprachliche Mitteilungen
PBB	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
Praxis	Praxis des neusprachlichen Unterrichts
RRL	Revue Roumaine de Linguistique
SL	Studia Linguistica
Tesol Qu	TESOL Quarterly
Word	Word
ZRP	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie
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